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The Development of New Indo-Aryan and the Rāula-Vela Inscription

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ABSTRACT

The present paper deals with the much debated issue, the development of the Indo-Aryan in the Indian soil and the line of the emergence of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. The generally accepted view is that NIA have developed from MIA and MIA has developed from OIA. This line of development is a simplistic one but often fails to answer many historical puzzles that exist. An overview of the actual emergence of the NIA languages from its ancestral stage has been discussed here in the light of an apparently unknown as less studied inscription 'Rāula-Vela'. The inscription does not throw any new light on the development of OIA to MIA or MIA to NIA. But it does throw new idea about the emergence of the NIA from its immediately preceding stage.

1. Introduction

It is linguistically well established that Bengali and her other close and distant sister languages belong to the Indo-Aryan family /sub-family. Among the seven languages families (considering Andamanese and Great Andamanese are distinct) of India Indo-Aryan is one of the important and populous language families. Almost 73% of the Indian population belongs to this language family / sub-family. But this is not the sole reason for the importance of Indo-Aryan family in the field of linguist study. Indo-Aryan family has drawn the attention of the linguists particularly those interested in Historical-Comparative study not only because of political, social or any other reason but because of the availability of continuous old written documents from Pre-Christian era. Among the other language families of India it is only the Dravidian family which furnish us old continuous written documents. Except these two families, in the other families the earlier or old documents are scanty in nature. In traditional Historical-Comparative study which emphasizes the historical development of any language or any language family, the written documents are of immense importance. Without the availability of written documents it is virtually impossible for the scholars to trace back the history of any language with certainty (we are not considering the case of reconstruction here). The three thousand year long history of Indo-Aryan has divided into many stages and sub-stages over the period of time. The division is not always unanimous or consensus or water-tight. There is difference of opinion among the scholars. But still we can give a rough picture of the stages and sub-stages- (Chatterji: 1926, Sen: 1958)

A) OIA (c 1200 BC – c 600 BC)

i) Early Vedic stage (c 1200 BC- c 1000BC)

ii) Late Vedic stage (c 1000 BC- c 700 BC)

- iii) Early Sanskrit stage (c 700 BC- c 400 BC)
- iv) Classical Sanskrit stage (c 400 BC)
- B) MIA (c 600 BC- c 900 AD)
 - i) First stage (c 600 BC- c 200 BC)
 - ii) Transitional stage (c 200 BC- c 200 AD)
 - iii) Prakrit stage (c 200AD- c 600 AD)
 - iv) Apabhramṣa stage (c 600 AD- c 900 AD)
- C) NIA (c 900 Ad-)
 - i) Old Stage
 - ii) Middle Stage
 - iii) Modern Stage

[Time span of these sub-stages are not well defined yet]

This classification of the different stages and sub-stages of Indo-Aryan is mainly based on the different types of written documents (inscriptional, canonical literature, non-canonical literature or else) that are available in each stage or each sub-stage. This temporal classification also enumerates the historical development of this family. The history of the Indo-Aryan family started its journey in the Indian soil in its Old stage, then over the course of time it went through the Middle stage and ultimately developed into the Modern stage, thus giving us the modern languages that spread from West (Gujrat) to East (Assam) and North (Kashmir) to South (Orissa). Apparently there is no harm in such a simplistic model. But the problem is that the development of the family is not always simple in nature and often the it is not very clear to us. Let us clarify this point slightly into more details.

2. The Overview

A fundamental premise of Historical-Comparative linguistics is that every language is susceptible to change, but it is an evolutionary change and not a revolutionary change. Here we want to mention an observation made by Ferninand de Saussure (1916). According to him

‘Time changes everything... there is no reason why language should escape this universal law’.

In case of recorded language the changes are easy to detect but not so in the case of language which are mostly oral or in a preliterate state and those which become written or documented in a later stage. All the IE languages of different branches have written evidence from a very early date, but two branches or groups of languages stand out as having almost unbroken historical records reflecting different states and shades of linguistic changes. One is the Italic branch the other is Indo-Iranian branch. The second branch has more advantage because its linguistic evidences antedate the record of the first group. Indo-Iranian and particularly of its sub-branch Indo-Aryan is our basic concern here.

It is an established fact that Indo-Iranian speakers came to India from the original homeland in successive waves (not as a single composite group) over a few centuries. The first group landed in North-Western frontier probably in 1500 BC. They brought with them a language which had already developed dialectal features. The Greek cognate of ‘*barus*’ in Sanskrit would have been ‘*garuḥ*’ which is preserved in comparative-superlative form ‘*gariyas*’ and ‘*gariṣṭha*’. But the positive degree form changed to ‘*guru*’ in classical Sanskrit but remained ‘*garu*’ in Pali. This kind of apparent anomalous outcome in the different stages of Indo-Aryan proves that the language in its earlier stage was not a uniform in nature and having different dialectal divisions.

It is highly likely that early Indo-Iranian and later on Indo-Aryan settlement in north India was slow and at the time they met with the speakers of other language families already there in the soil like Austric (modern population Genetics study has proved almost beyond doubt that the Austric are the

first band of people came to India from outside), Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan etc. As the speakers penetrated into the main land they retained their original social custom but at the same time developed differentiating features (Hoernle's Inner-Outer theory gives us a slightly different scenario). Evidence of such distinctive feature is recounted in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. According to that story one group of Aryans were defeated by the other group simply because they could not differentiate between the two sounds [r] and [l]. It is said that instead of saying 'arayaḥ' (nominative plural of ari 'enemy') they said 'alayaḥ'. However this [r] and [l] difference is also very ancient. The matter of [r] and [l] played an important role in the dialectal diversity of OIA speech. The dialect of west had only [r], the dialect of central India had both [r] and [l] and the dialect of east had only [l]. The IE word *kr̥ti-lo occurs in three forms in OIA speech—śrīra, śrīla and ślīla (Chatterji:1942). It is evident that more the intrusion of Aryan from west to east, there was more dialectal variations.

With the passage of time new settlers' lost mutual contact as has been the case of modern Italic group of languages. After the fall of Roman Empire although the basic structure of the language remains the same but some special features developed in the newly formed sub-groups. The historical forms of this sub-group differ from the language of earlier settlers. The language of the earlier settlers is called OIA because it was not a monolithic structure. OIA is a cover term which includes Vedas, Brāhmaṇa, Upaniṣadas. The later form called Sanskrit includes the language of the epics and the language governs by Paninian grammar. Here it should be remembered that language of the epic contained many Non-Panian forms. The language of the second phase is called MIA which is also a cover term that includes Pali and Prakrit. Pali had a monolithic structure because it was a language of canonical literature but Prakrits had regional variants which is evident from Ashokan inscriptions. In these inscriptions four distinct regional variants have been identified by the scholars. These variants are known as North-West (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions), South-West (Girnar inscription), East-central (Kalshi inscription) and Eastern (Dhauḷi inscription). Interestingly all these four divisions can be related with the linguistic samples of the earlier phase. It has been surmised by the scholars like Chatterji (1926) that spoken form of OIA had three clear dialects. They are known as Udīcyā (Northern or North-Western), Madhya-deśīyā (Midland or central) and Prācyā (eastern). Probably there was also a Dākṣiṇātyā or Southern dialect. The dialect of Udīcyā which had only [r] was conservative in nature and was more akin to OIA standard. The eastern dialect was less conservative and was characterized by loose slip-shod pronunciation (vide observation made by Patañjali), which had only [l]. Nothing was mentioned about the central or midland dialect but it evidently steered a middle course between Udīcyā and Prācyā. In mid-land dialect probably both [r] and [l] was present.

The second phase (MIA) continued up to circa 900 to 1000 AD. The point to note here is that with the passage of time the change marking these distinct groups are fundamentally all phonetic or phonological changes. The difference between OIA and MIA which is reflected in the structure of the language whether grammatical or otherwise are due to either phonological change or by the replacement of a vocables. One example will elucidate this point. In Sanskrit the sentence 'bālakaḥ phalam atti' becomes in Bengali 'cheḷi phal khāy'. The first word is a lexical change but the verb shows preference. In Sanskrit the verb 'atti' could be replaced by 'khādati'. Bengali prefers the second and not the first one. Another interesting point to be mentioned in this context that even though MIA became the language of the people but due to its cultural and religious prestige Sanskrit never lost ground to the contemporary language (Chatterji: 1926). He showed the evidence of the inscription of Saka satrap Rudradamana which is written in Sanskrit in the first century AD the high time of second MIA phase.

Pali and Prakrit constitute the first two phases of MIA but the last phase is known as Apabhraṃśa. This Apabhraṃśa (the term having multiple contradictory meaning) according to the scholars like G.A.Grierson, Jules Bloch, Suniti Kumar Chatterji is the link between OIA and MIA in

one hand and NIA on the other hand. There is a direct link between OIA dialects as well as the literary Prakrits with Apabhraṃśa from which the modern vernaculars have emerged. Therefore according to these scholars there is a hypothetical chain of development of Indo-Aryan in Indian soil. The chain looks like

Vedic + Sanskrit (OIA) → Pali + Prakrit (2nd MIA) → Apabhraṃśa (3rd MIA) →
Modern Vernacular NIA languages.

Chatterji (1926) has linked the above mentioned OIA dialects in this chain, according to which each dialect has developed in course of time a local Apabhraṃśa through MIA from which modern Indian languages have developed.

Udīcyā (North-Western dialect) > Vrācaḍa Prakrit > * Vrācaḍa Apabhraṃśa >
Punjabi, Sindhi, Lahnda etc

Madhyadeśīyā (Central dialect) > Śaurasenī Prakrit > Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa >
Western Hindi group

Prācyā (Eastern dialect) > Ardha-Māgadhī and Māgadhī Prakrit > *Ardha-Māgadhī and *Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa > Eastern Hindi and Magadhan group of languages respectively.

Pratīcyā (South-Western dialect) > Nāgara Prakrit > *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa >
Rajasthani group

Dākṣiṇātyā (Southern dialect) > Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit > *Māhārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa >
Gujarati Marathi, Konkani etc.

But the problem of this theory is that there is no literary evidence of these local Apabhraṃśa except the Śaurasenī one which is directly linked to midland dialects from which Pali and Śaurasenī Prakrits have emerged. All the other local Apabhraṃśa are hypothetically reconstructed on the basis of the existence of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. This line of historical development often fails to solve many historical puzzles that exist in Indo-Aryan (Masica:1991). This can be explained by one simple example. The reflex of Sanskrit [ṛ] and [kṣ] in Gujarati and Marathi. The common characteristic developments of these two in the two languages are [a] and [cch>ch>s] respectively. Sanskrit mṛttikā ‘soil’ > Gujarati, Marathi māṭī, Sanskrit ikṣu ‘sugarcane’ > Gujarati, Marathi ūs etc. but there are great many words or forms in both mainly Gujarati show more or less pan-Indian developments like [i,u] and [kkh>kh] respectively. Sanskrit ghr̥ta ‘ghee’ > Gujarati, Marathi ghī, Sanskrit kṣāra ‘alkali’ > Guj, Mar khār. The problem like this and similar other problems made Turner (1921) to accept the fact that extensive mixture of dialects in India from the earliest times in one of the main reason for the varying developments of [ṛ] and [kṣ] in the modern languages. Sometimes the mutual borrowing among the modern languages is so extensive that in many cases it is really impossible to unravel their true historical development.

All theories and discussions related to the development of the modern Indo-Aryan languages are only based on the analysis of the available written documents. It is virtually not possible to trace back the development of modern Indo-Aryan languages based on the spoken form of the languages. Apparently there is no evidence of the spoken form of the earlier forms of the languages are not available to us. We do not have any direct evidence of the then current spoken form of neither OIA stage nor MIA or early NIA stage. Do the documents of the earlier Indo-Aryan stages reflects the spoken form of that time? It is difficult to give answer of this question. Because the language of the tongue and the language of the pen are do not go hand to hand. But it also true that even within the ancient written documents the dialectal divergences of the spoken forms are clearly reflected. The best examples of such cases in Indo-Aryan are the Ashokan Inscriptions and also the observation noted in Mahābhāṣya. That is why documents like Ashokan inscriptions are of immense important to the study of historical analysis. The dialectal divergences reflected in the Ashokan inscriptions prove the fact that in every stages and sub-stages of Indo-Aryan such kind of dialectal variations of spoken form

were there. But unfortunately documents like Ashokan inscriptions are very few in nature. One can cite the example of Sutanuka inscription, which is contemporary to Ashokan inscription. But this document has more social value than linguistic value because of its internal content. The key to the actual line of the development of Indo-Aryan probably lies in the spoken form. If we get more indirect evidence of such spoken form then it will become more clearer to us to understand the development. But where we will get such kind of evidence? Often the scholars try to reconstruct the spoken forms like Spoken Sanskrit (Sen : 1958). But after all that is hypothesis not actual evidence.

3. The New Material

During the middle of the last century (actual time is unknown) a fragmentary inscription was discovered from Dhar in Malwa (the then Madhya-Bharat). The inscription is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai, where it had been denoted by Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay. The black stone slab that bears the inscription is a fragmentary one that represents only the middle portion of an original one. The beginning and the end portion of the inscription is missing. The top right corner and the bottom left corner of the inscription have a clear cut patch. All these damages have made the text really difficult to read because of many lacunae. The size of the inscription is 95 inches x 33 inches. The fragmented inscription has a text of forty-six lines in all. But there is clear indication that few lines are missing in the inscription due to its damage. The script of this inscription is an early variety of Nagari. On epigraphical evidence the inscription can be dated between 1100- 1200 AD. This inscription was first edited and published by H.C.Bhayani in Bharatiya Vidya Series (No 3-4), where he had identified this as an earliest verse-cum-prose composition in NIA. Later on M.P. Gupta had published it as a monograph with Hindi translation in the name of ‘Rāula-Vela’ inscription (<rājakul-vela) ‘the royal harem’. Gupta had also analyzed the language of the inscription. The inscription is unique both linguistically and also historically. From the badly mutilated text it appears that it is a poem depicting a scene of a market place where some men have brought with them good looking and well-dressed girls from their own regions either for marriage or for sale. The scene may be that of a white slave market or brothel. In the text probably there is existence of the seven men from seven different regions of our country. The existence of the first six is clearly evident, but due to the damage of the text the existence of the seventh person is not very clear. These six/seven people’s speeches are not yet differentiated enough to be mutually unintelligible to each other. Each variety is clearly representing the local spoken form of each of them. The name in which each persons are identified in the text are mentioned in this table.

Speaker	The name in which identified in the inscription	Region / regional speech
First	golla	Deccan region. Probably the dialect of Godāvarī region. Earlier form Dakhnī
Second	kānoḍa	The speech bears some of the characteristic features of Marathi
Third	ṭella	The speech may be identified as the earlier form of Gujarati
Fourth	ṭakkī	The speech shows some feature which are accentuated in Punjabi
Fifth	gauḍa	Gaur region. Features of Old Bengali are clearly reflected
Sixth	Mālawīya	The speech shows the hall mark of central NIA

		speech especially that of Brajabhākhā. Probably the earlier form of Eastern Hindi group
Seventh (?)	X	Not clearly evident

A detailed linguistic analysis of the Rāula-Vela inscription is not possible as the available material is too scanty and mutilated in nature. The scanty evidence still furnishes us some of the general tendencies of the six/ seven speeches. For the sake of our discussion we can identify them as six/ seven different dialects

Dialect	Tendencies
A	This dialect is represented by the fewest lines preserved in the inscription and as such it cannot be compared adequately with the other dialects
B	This dialect presents a unique feature viz wide use of post-positions like [cā], [ci/ cī], [ce] etc.
C	The hallmark of this dialect in the inscription is the use of dative-genitive ending [-ku]
D	This dialect has sharp point of difference with the other dialects. Word medial double consonants are not simplified here. Few tendencies of the voicing of an original unvoiced consonant after the class nasal. Both these tendencies are found in the modern North-Western NIA languages. Often there is a tendency of the change of medial/ intervocalic [s] to [h]
E	This dialect is also sharply different from the rest not in phonology as D but in morphology. The most striking morphological features are possessive (genitive) affix [-(e)ra] added to the nominal as well as pronominal bases and the adjectival pleonastic affix [-(a)la] added to the past participles.
F	It is the longest of the dialectal pieces and seems to be the language of the poet. The first personal ending [-hū] for the present tense occurs only here in two forms as 'karahū', 'avarahū'.

4. Conclusion

The language in which this inscription is written is an early form of NIA that may be identified as Pre-NIA when the regional NIA languages were certainly not developed as an independent language/dialect. But obviously Pre-NIA is the stage from where the modern Indo-Aryan languages have been developed later on. The language of this inscription that clearly reflects the regional variations (very similar to the Ashokan edicts) is contemporary to Avahatṭha, the later stage of Apabhraṃśa, which ultimately developed as a Pan-Indian literary vehicle during tenth to thirteenth century AD. This inscription also indirectly supports the Apabhraṃśa-origin theory of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages as advocated by Grierson and Chatterji. The only drawback of that theory is that except the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa there is no evidence of the existence of the other Apabhraṃśa. According to Chatterji, the Bengali and her other immediate sister languages (Assamese, Oriya etc) have developed from Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. Other scholars like Shahidullah (1955) identified this Apabhraṃśa as Gauḍī Apabhraṃśa. Later on other alternative name for this Apabhraṃśa have been suggested like Eastern Apabhraṃśa etc. The speech of the fifth speaker of the 'Rāula-vela' inscription

could the much awaited evidence of Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. One of the characteristic features of the speech of the fifth speaker is the predominance of Genitive affix [-(e)ra], interestingly which is absent in the speeches of the speakers. So can we consider the six dialects of the inscription are the missing link of the Grierson-Chatterji's theory? The may be yes. The 'Raula-vela' inscription clearly proves that the modern NIA languages have ultimately been developed from the different regional spoken variants current at that time. This inscription surely cannot link between the spoken dialects of OIA with that of NIA but gives us some important directions towards the origin of the modern Indo-Aryan languages from its immediate ancestral stage.

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অ-কার উচ্চারণের ঐতিহাসিক বিবর্তন

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সারাংশ

বর্তমান প্রবন্ধে আমি বাংলা ভাষার আদ্যাক্ষর অ-কার বিষয়ে কিছু আলোচনা করছি। বাংলা ভাষায় অ-কারের উদ্ভব এবং তার বিভিন্ন ধ্বনিতে পরিবর্তন বিষয়ে কিছু ধারণা দেবার চেষ্টা করেছি। বাংলা ব্যাকরণ চর্চার ধারায় কোন্ সময় থেকে বাংলা সাহিত্যে (বিশেষ করে গদ্য সাহিত্যে) এই আদ্য অক্ষরটি মুখের ভাষায় পরিবর্তিত হতে শুরু করল, সে বিষয়ে আলোচনা করেছি। বাংলা ভাষার বিভিন্ন বৈয়াকরণগণ (দেশী ও বিদেশী) তাঁদের রচিত ব্যাকরণের মধ্যে বাংলা ভাষা শিক্ষণকালে কীভাবে বাংলা অ-কারের উচ্চারণকে উপলব্ধি করেছিলেন সে বিষয়ে কিছু আলোকপাত করেছি। পরবর্তীকালে সুনীতিকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় এবং তৎপরবর্তী আধুনিক কালের ভাষাতাত্ত্বিকগণ ও বিদ্বান পণ্ডিত সমাজ কোন্ সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হয়েছেন, সে সম্বন্ধে কিছু মতামত আপনাদের সামনে উপস্থাপিত করার চেষ্টা করেছি।

বর্তমান প্রবন্ধে আমি বাংলা ভাষার আদ্যাক্ষর অ-কার বিষয়ে কিছু আলোচনা করছি। বাংলা ভাষায় অ-কারের উদ্ভব এবং তার বিভিন্ন ধ্বনিতে পরিবর্তন বিষয়ে কিছু ধারণা দেবার চেষ্টা করেছি। বাংলা ব্যাকরণ চর্চার ধারায় কোন্ সময় থেকে বাংলা সাহিত্যে (বিশেষ করে গদ্য সাহিত্যে) এই আদ্য অক্ষরটি মুখের ভাষায় পরিবর্তিত হতে শুরু করল, সে বিষয়ে আলোচনা করেছি। বাংলা ভাষার বিভিন্ন বৈয়াকরণগণ (দেশী ও বিদেশী) তাঁদের রচিত ব্যাকরণের মধ্যে বাংলা ভাষা শিক্ষণকালে কীভাবে বাংলা অ-কারের উচ্চারণকে উপলব্ধি করেছিলেন সে বিষয়ে কিছু আলোকপাত করেছি। পরবর্তীকালে সুনীতিকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় এবং তৎপরবর্তী আধুনিক কালের ভাষাতাত্ত্বিকগণ ও বিদ্বান পণ্ডিত সমাজ কোন্ সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হয়েছেন, সে সম্বন্ধে কিছু মতামত আপনাদের সামনে উপস্থাপিত করার চেষ্টা করেছি।

ভাষাবিজ্ঞানের অন্তর্গত ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞান আধুনিক যুগে যথেষ্ট উন্নতি লাভ করেছে। ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞানের যাত্রা শুরু হয়েছিল ইউরোপে ষোড়শ শতকে। সেই অর্থে প্রথম আধুনিক ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞানী হিসেবে যার নাম পাই তিনি হচ্ছেন Jakob Matthias, একজন Danish scholar, তিনি ১৫৮৬ সালে তাঁর ‘De Literis’ নামক বইটি প্রকাশ করেন। পরবর্তীকালে ১৬৩৫ সালে Dutch scholar Montanus তাঁর বই ‘Spreeckonst’ প্রকাশ করেন। এরপর ১৬৫৩ সালে অক্সফোর্ড থেকে John Wallis নামে এক পণ্ডিত ইংরেজি ভাষার এক ব্যাকরণ রচনা করেন, সেই ব্যাকরণটির নাম ছিল ‘Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae’। এরপর ১৬৬৮ সালে John Wilkins তাঁর ‘An Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language’ নামক গ্রন্থ প্রকাশ করেন যেখানে তিনি উচ্চারণ অনুসারে ব্যঞ্জনধ্বনি ও অন্যান্য ধ্বনির শ্রেণীবিভাজন করেন। এরপর ১৭৪১ সালে Ferrein ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞানের ওপর যে গ্রন্থটি প্রকাশ করেন সেখানে তিনি vocal cords -কে violin -এর strings -র সঙ্গে তুলনা করেন। অর্থাৎ অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীর মধ্যভাগ পর্যন্ত ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞান সংক্রান্ত এই সমস্ত গবেষণার প্রভাব বাংলা ভাষার ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞানের ওপরেও পড়ে।

আমরা জানি বাংলা ভাষা ব্যাকরণের বা বাংলা ভাষা শিক্ষার যাত্রাপথ শুরু হয় বিদেশীদের হাত ধরে। ইউরোপে প্রকাশিত ধ্বনিবিজ্ঞান সংক্রান্ত গ্রন্থ পোর্টুগীজ পাদ্রী মানোএল-দা-আসসুন্সপসাঁউ কে যথেষ্ট উদ্বুদ্ধ করে। আধুনিক ভাষাশিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে ধ্বনির উচ্চারণ যে তার লিখিত রূপের চেয়েও গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সেটা তিনি অনুভব করেন। মানোএলের ‘Vocabulario emi idioma Bengalla e Portuguez’ ১৭৪৩ সালে প্রকাশিত হয় যেটি প্রকৃতপক্ষে একটি অভিধান। জাতীয়। বাংলা ভাষা সম্বন্ধীয় বেশ কিছু সূত্র এখানে দেওয়া আছে। দীর্ঘদিন যাবৎ এই বইখানি দৃষ্টির বাইরে ছিল। ১৯৩১ সালে অধ্যাপক চট্টোপাধ্যায় এবং প্রিয়রঞ্জন সেন বইখানি সম্পাদনা করেন যেটি কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় থেকে প্রকাশিত হয়। এখানে একইসঙ্গে পোর্টুগীজ বা লাতিন এবং বাংলা ভাষার রূপান্তর পাওয়া যায়। ভারতবর্ষে সে সময় দক্ষিণের ভাষায় (তামিল, তেলুগু) ইউরোপীয় পণ্ডিতগণ কর্তৃক কিছু কিছু ব্যাকরণ রচিত হচ্ছে। যেমন ১৭৩১ সালে Constantinus Beschi, একজন Italian scholar, তামিল ভাষার একটি ব্যাকরণ লেখেন। সুতরাং এককথায় বলা যায় মানোএলের বাংলা ব্যাকরণ রচিত হবার পূর্বে অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীর প্রায় মধ্যভাগ পর্যন্ত বাংলা ভাষা বর্ধিত হয়েছিল কোনো ব্যাকরণ ছাড়াই। যদিও দ্বাদশ শতকে (১১৯২ খৃ) পণ্ডিত দামোদর রচিত উক্তি-ব্যক্তি-প্রকরণ পাওয়া যায়, কিন্তু সেটি ছিল তৎকালীন উত্তর ভারতের ভাষা মহাকোশলী ভাষায় লেখা। যেটি মূলতঃ সংস্কৃত ভাষা শিক্ষার মাধ্যম হিসেবে বিবেচিত হতো। এছাড়া সর্বানন্দের ‘অমরকোষ’ এর মধ্যে কিছু কিছু বিক্ষিপ্ত বাংলা শব্দ যেমন-ওসার (কাপড়ের চওড়া অংশ), থিরিসা (ক্ষীর), পিম্পড়ি (পিঁপড়া), টের (বাঁকা) প্রভৃতি পাওয়া যায়। এই সমস্ত খুচরো উপকরণ ছাড়া বাংলা ভাষা শিক্ষার সে সময় কোনো বিধিবদ্ধ ব্যাকরণ রচিত হয় নি। সেজন্য ইউরোপীয় পণ্ডিত মানোএল দা আসসুন্সপসাঁউ এর গ্রন্থটি বাংলা ব্যাকরণ উদ্ভবের ইতিহাসে প্রথম স্থান অধিকার করে আছে। এরপর বিদেশী পণ্ডিতদের দ্বারা আরও অনেক বাংলা ব্যাকরণ রচিত হয়েছে। দেশীয় পণ্ডিতদের মধ্যে মৃত্যুঞ্জয় বিদ্যালঙ্কার ১৮০১ সালে প্রথম বাংলা ভাষায় বাংলা ব্যাকরণ লেখেন। এর পূর্বে ১৭৭৮ সালে Nathaniel Brassey Halhed এর ‘A Grammar of the Bengal Language’; ১৮০১ সালে William Carey -র ‘A Grammar of the Bengalee Language’ এগুলো সবই ছিল ইংরেজি ভাষায় লেখা বাংলা ব্যাকরণ। যদিও মৃত্যুঞ্জয়ের ব্যাকরণ নিয়ে কিছু বিতর্ক আছে, কেউ কেউ বলেন এটা কোনো স্বতন্ত্র ব্যাকরণ নয়, কেরীর ব্যাকরণের বঙ্গানুবাদ, কিন্তু তারাপদ মুখোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত বিদ্যালঙ্কারের যে ব্যাকরণটি পাওয়া যায় সেটি অনেকাংশে যুক্তিসঙ্গত ও বাস্তববাদী (Practical)।

মানোএল থেকে শুরু করে এই সমস্ত বাংলা বৈয়াকরণগণ (দেশী, বিদেশী) তাঁদের ব্যাকরণের শুরুতেই বাংলা বর্ণমালা বা Alphabetic system দিয়েছেন। এই ক্ষেত্রে যে সমস্ত ইউরোপীয় পণ্ডিত বাংলা ব্যাকরণ লিখেছেন তাঁরা রোমান হরফ ব্যবহার করেছেন এবং দেশীয় পণ্ডিতগণ বাংলা হরফ দিয়েছেন। সেই ক্ষেত্রে প্রতিটি বাংলা বর্ণের সঠিক উচ্চারণ বোঝাবার জন্য তাঁরা অনেক সময় ইংরেজি শব্দ উদাহরণ হিসেবে ব্যবহার করেছেন। যদিও প্রায় প্রত্যেক বৈয়াকরণই বাংলা ভাষায় কোন্ কোন্ বর্ণ আছে প্রথমে তার একটা তালিকা দিয়েছেন, কিন্তু ব্যতিক্রম শুধু মানোএল। তিনি ছিলেন একজন পোর্টুগীজ scholar, যে ভাষার সঙ্গে লাতিন ভাষার খুবই সাদৃশ্য থাকায় তাঁর ব্যাকরণের মধ্যে লাতিন ভাষার প্রভাব দেখা যায়। তিনি বাংলা ভাষার ধ্বনিতত্ত্ব বা উচ্চারণ বিষয়ে বিশেষ কোনো কথাই বলেন নি; উপভাষাগত বৈচিত্র্য বা বিভিন্নতার দরুণ বাংলা ভাষার উচ্চারণ পদ্ধতি আলোচনা করা বেশ কঠিন, যেটা তিনি বইয়ের শেষে উল্লেখ করেছেন। যে কারণে তিনি ধ্বনিতত্ত্ব বিষয়ে বিশেষ কোনো কথা বলেন নি। তাছাড়া মানোএল তাঁর ব্যাকরণ বইটি পূর্ববঙ্গের ভাওয়াল শহরে বসে লিখেছিলেন, ফলে ব্যাকরণটির মধ্যে পূর্ববঙ্গীয় উপভাষার বেশ কিছু প্রভাব দেখা যায়। যাই হোক আমি এখানে প্রতিটি ব্যাকরণের বিশদ আলোচনায় যাচ্ছি না। বাংলা আদ্য বর্ণ অ-কার এর উচ্চারণ বিষয়ে দু-চার কথা বলব। ইচ্ছে ছিল প্রতিটি স্বরবর্ণেরই উচ্চারণ বৈচিত্র্য তুলনামূলক পদ্ধতির মাধ্যমে আলোচনা করা, কিন্তু বিষয়ের দীর্ঘতা ও সময়ের স্বল্পতা হেতু সেই

আলোচনা থেকে বিরত থাকলাম। পরে সুযোগ পেলে তা সদ্যবহারের ইচ্ছে রইল। এখানে শুধু অ-কারের আলোচনাই করছি।

আমাদের শাস্ত্রে অ-কার কে খুব গুরুত্ব দেওয়া হয়, কারণ অ-কার বিষ্ণুকে বোঝায়। গীতায় শ্রীভগবান বলেছেন ‘অক্ষরাণাম্ অকারোহস্মি’, অর্থাৎ অক্ষর সমূহের মধ্যে আমি অ-কার। বস্তুতঃ শব্দ রাজ্যে অ-কার এর ন্যায় ব্যাপক স্বর নেই। ই-কার এবং উ-কার ছাড়া এমন কোনো শব্দ নেই, যেখানে কোনো না কোনো রূপে অ-কার না আছে। অ, ই, উ- এই তিনটি হল মূল স্বর। আমাদের বর্ণমালায় অ-কার সর্বপ্রথম উচ্চারণ করবার কারণ হল শরীরের ভেতরের বায়ু মুখবিবর দিয়ে নির্গত হবার সময়ে বাকযন্ত্রের বিভিন্ন স্থানে বাধা পায়। ঐ বায়ু কঠে আহত হলে অ, তালুতে আহত হলে ই এবং ওঠে আহত হলে উ হয়। বায়ু নির্গমনের সময় ভেতর থেকে প্রথমে কণ্ঠ্য, পরে তালু এবং সবশেষে ওঠে বাধা পায়। তাই সেই ক্রমে অ, ই, উ- এই তিনটি ধ্বনি উচ্চারিত হয়। এইজন্য স্বরবর্ণের প্রথমেই অ-কারকে দেখতে পাওয়া যায়। অন্যথায় ক্রমভঙ্গ হতো।

বাংলা ‘অ’ স্বরবর্ণটি বেশ চঞ্চল প্রকৃতির। এর উচ্চারণও বেশ আকর্ষণীয়। বাংলা এই স্বরবর্ণটির মূল উচ্চারণ স্থান ছিল কণ্ঠ্য। তাই এটি একটি কণ্ঠ্যবর্ণ। সংস্কৃত বর্ণমালা অনুসারে বাংলা অ-কারের বিশুদ্ধ উচ্চারণ হ্রস্ব আ, যা বিবৃত বা open, যাকে রামেন্দ্রসুন্দর ত্রিবেদী মহাশয় বলেছেন “মুখ ব্যাদান করিয়া, মুখকোটর বিবৃত করিয়া আমরা এই স্বরবর্ণের উচ্চারণ করি”। বাংলায় অ-কারের উচ্চারণ অত্যন্ত বিকৃত হয়ে যাওয়ায়, অর্থাৎ সংস্কৃতির হ্রস্ব আ-এর মত উচ্চারণ না হওয়ায় বুঝতে খুব অসুবিধে হয় যে বাংলায় ‘অ’ এবং ‘আ’ এর মধ্যে সম্বন্ধ কী রকম। আসলে সংস্কৃত ব্যাকরণ শাস্ত্রে দু-রকম অ-কারের উচ্চারণ আছে-সংবৃত (closed) ও বিবৃত (open)। সংস্কৃত সংবৃত অ-উচ্চারণের সঙ্গে বাংলার অ-কার উচ্চারণের মিল আছে। সংবৃত অ-কারের উচ্চারণে কণ্ঠনালী বা গলনালীর সংকোচন বা contraction হয়, আর বিবৃত অ-এর উচ্চারণে কণ্ঠনালী বা গলনালীর প্রসারণ বা retraction হয়। বহু পূর্ব থেকেই অর্থাৎ পাণিনির সময় থেকেই (খৃ পূ ৪র্থ শতক) অ-কারের এই দু প্রকার উচ্চারণ ছিল। পাণিনি এর জন্য সূত্রও করেছেন। আসলে সংস্কৃতে কোথায় সংবৃত অ পাওয়া যায় সেটা বলা খুব শক্ত। সংবৃত অ শেষে থাকলে সাধারণতঃ সন্ধি হয় না। যেমন-সম্বোধনে যখন আমরা মন্ত্র উচ্চারণ করি ‘হে কৃষ্ণ অত্রাগচ্ছ’—এখানে কৃষ্ণ + অত্র সন্ধি হয় নি। এখানে বলা যেতে পারে কৃষ্ণ শব্দের শেষের ‘অ’ সংবৃত হওয়ায় সন্ধি হয় নি। সে কারণেই তো ‘নর’ শব্দের ২য়ার একবচনে ‘নরাম্’ না হয়ে ‘নরম্’ হয়। সংস্কৃতে সংবৃত অ দীর্ঘ নয়। এর উচ্চারণে ওষ্ঠদ্বয় বর্তুলাকার হয় যাকে বোঝাতে ধ্বনিমূলক বর্ণমালায় (International Phonetic Alphabet) ‘ɔ’ চিহ্ন ব্যবহার করা হয়। এই বর্তুলাকার অ-এর দীর্ঘ রূপ গড়ে উঠে নি। তবে এই ‘ɔ’ -এর বিবৃত উচ্চারণ যেটা একটু দীর্ঘ, যাকে আমরা হ্রস্ব ‘আ’ বলতে পারি যেটা ইংরেজি but শব্দের ‘u’ -এর আকারবৎ উচ্চারণের মত। অর্থাৎ সেক্ষেত্রে অরুণ উচ্চারণ হবে arun রূপে। সংস্কৃত এই বিবৃত স্বরের উচ্চারণ আধুনিক বাংলায় সম্পূর্ণভাবে লুপ্ত হয়েছে, কিন্তু অন্যান্য ভারতীয় ভাষাতে এর অস্তিত্ব রয়েছে। সংস্কৃতির যে সংবৃত ‘অ’ উচ্চারণ তা বাংলায় আছে। অর্থাৎ সংস্কৃত সংবৃত অ-এর উচ্চারণ অনেকাংশে বাংলার অ-কারের উচ্চারণের মত। এই সংবৃত অ-কারের যেমন দীর্ঘ বর্ণ সংস্কৃতে নেই তেমনি আধুনিক বাংলাতেও সংবৃতবৎ অ-কারের কোনো দীর্ঘ বর্ণ নেই। তবে অ-কারের প্রসারিত উচ্চারণ (আ-কার বৎ) মধ্য বাংলার যুগে শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্তনের ভাষায় পাওয়া যায়। যেমন-অচেতন > আচেতন; অতিশয় > আতিশয়; পঞ্চ > পাঞ্চ; নন্দ > নান্দ; ছন্দ > ছান্দ; শুধু তাই নয়, প্রাচীন বাংলা বা চর্যাপদের ভাষাতেও এই জাতীয় উদাহরণ (হ্রস্ব আ) মেলে। যেমন-অন্ত > আন্ত; বন্ধ > বান্ধ; এই সমস্ত ক্ষেত্র শব্দের প্রথম অ-কার আ-কার হয়েছে তার কারণ সম্ভবতঃ আদ্য অক্ষরে শ্বাসাঘাত। বাংলা ছাড়া অন্যান্য প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতেও এই জাতীয় দীর্ঘ অ-কারের উচ্চারণ পাওয়া যায়। যেমন-হিন্দী আমাত্য (=সংস্কৃত অমাত্য); আতার (সংস্কৃত আতর); গুজরাটি আধীন (সংস্কৃত অধীন); মরাঠী কাবল (সংস্কৃত কপাল); আসলে অ-কারের এরূপ হ্রস্ব আ-রূপে উচ্চারণ বৈদিক যুগ থেকে এসেছে। বৈদিক ও লৌকিক সংস্কৃতেও এরূপ পাওয়া যায়। যেমন-ছগল ও ছাগল (তৈত্তরীয়

সংহিতা ও পাণিনী); পটীর ও পাটীর ইত্যাদি। পরে পালি, প্রাকৃত অর্থাৎ মধ্য ভারতীয় আর্য ভাষার মধ্যে দিয়ে বাংলা ভাষায় এসেছে। কিন্তু মধ্য বাংলার পরে তা সম্পূর্ণভাবে লুপ্ত হয়েছে, যদিও অন্যান্য প্রাদেশিক ভাষায় সেই উচ্চারণ বজায় রয়েছে। সুতরাং আধুনিক বাংলার এই হ্রস্ব ‘অ’ বহু পূর্ব থেকেই ইতিহাসের হাত ধরে এসেছে।

সর্বপ্রথম যে বাংলা ব্যাকরণটি পাওয়া যায় সেটি ইউরোপীয় পণ্ডিত মানোএল-দা-আসসুস্পসাঁউ কর্তৃক ১৭৪৩ সালে লিসবন থেকে প্রকাশিত হয়েছিল। এই ব্যাকরণটিতে অ-কারের বিভিন্ন রকম পরিবর্তন দেখা যায়। তার মধ্যে সবচেয়ে উল্লেখযোগ্য হল অ-কার এর ও-কার বৎ উচ্চারণ যা মানোএল সর্বতোভাবে স্বীকার করেছেন। অর্থাৎ আজকের দিনে বাংলা ভাষায় যেটা একটা প্রতিষ্ঠিত বৈশিষ্ট্য সেটা আজ থেকে প্রায় ২৬০/২৬৫ বছর আগেই একজন বিদেশীর নজরে আসে। যেমন-*artha* > *orth* (money); *devatā* > *debota* (deity); *svatantra* > *xotontro* (separate); *pralay* > *proloe* (deasastre); *paramēśwar* > *poromexor* (God); *adhivās* > *odibax* (staying); ইত্যাদি। মানোএল যেহেতু তাঁর গ্রন্থে এই জাতীয় উদাহরণের মাধ্যমে অ-কারের ও-কার বৎ উচ্চারণ দেখিয়েছেন, সুতরাং অন্ততঃপক্ষে আরও ৫০/১০০ বছর আগে থেকেই বাংলা ভাষায় অ-কার ও-কার রূপে উচ্চারণ হতে শুরু করেছিল। সুতরাং ও-কারবৎ উচ্চারণের পেছনে একটা দীর্ঘ ৩০০ বছরের ইতিহাস পাওয়া গেল। শুধু বাংলা নয়, ভারতের অন্যান্য প্রাদেশিক ভাষাতেও অ-কার স্থানে ও-কার উচ্চারণ শোনা যায়। যেমন-মরাঠী- ব্রমর > ভোঁবর, ভোঁর; অঞ্জলি > ওঞ্জল; গুজরাটি- কলম > কোলম; ভয় > ভো; মৈথিলী- মসী (লিখিবার কালি) > মোসী; মশক > মোস, মোঁস; বিধুশেখর শাস্ত্রী (ভট্টাচার্য্য) তাঁর ‘অ-কার তত্ত্ব’ নামক প্রবন্ধে বলেছেন “অ-কারের ও-কারের ন্যায় উচ্চারণ প্রথা উত্তর ভারতে বৈদিক কাল হইতেই আরম্ভ হইয়া বৈদিক ভাষা হইতে ক্রমে ক্রমে প্রাদেশিক ভাষাসমূহে প্রবেশ লাভ করিয়াছে। ভারতের যে সমস্ত প্রাদেশিক ভাষা আর্যভাষামূলক তাহাদের সকলের মধ্যেই কম-বেশী, কিছু না কিছু এই প্রথার পরিচয় পাওয়া যাইবেই। উত্তরাপথ হইতেই ইহার উৎপত্তি; উত্তরাপথের প্রাচীন ভাষা এখন দক্ষিণা পথের মধ্যে, যে কোনো রূপেই হউক, যেখানে যেখানে রহিয়াছে, সেখানে সেখানে এই প্রথার চিহ্নও থাকিয়া গিয়াছে”।

পরবর্তী বৈয়াকরণগণ যেমন হালহেড (১৭৭৮), কেরী (১৮০১), লেবেদেফ (১৮০১), ইয়েটস্ (১৮৪৭), বিমস্ (১৮৯১), মিলনে (১৯১৩) প্রভৃতি এঁরা প্রত্যেকেই কম-বেশি অ-কারের এই ও-কারবৎ উচ্চারণ মেনে নিয়েছেন। পরবর্তী কালে জর্জ আব্রাহাম গ্রীয়ার্সনকে অনুসরণ করে শ্যামাচরণ সরকার (১৮৫০), ডানকান ফোর্বস্ (১৮৬২), যদুনাথ চট্টোপাধ্যায় (১৮৭৯), চিন্তামণি গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় (১৮৮১), জগদীশ ঘোষ (১৯৩৩), মহঃ শহীদুল্লাহ (১৯৩৫)-এঁরা প্রত্যেকেই বাংলা অ-কারের ও-কারবৎ উচ্চারণের কিছু সূত্র প্রণয়ন করেছেন। যেমন শ্যামাচরণ সরকার বলেছেন ‘অ’ যদি ‘র’ এর সঙ্গে যুক্ত হয় তবে তা ‘ও’ রূপে উচ্চারিত হয়, যদি না পরে ‘য়’ (y) থাকে। অর্থাৎ পরে ‘য়’ থাকলে ও-কার উচ্চারণ হবে না। যেমন আমরা *prokās*, *puttro* বলব কান্ত *kray*, কখনই *kroy* নয়। আবার বিমস্ বাংলা অ-কারের সঠিক উচ্চারণ কীরকম সেটা বোঝাতে ইংরেজি *not*, *rock*, *top* প্রভৃতি শব্দ উদাহরণ হিসেবে দিয়েছেন। যেমন-*anal* > *ōnōk*; *kathan* > *kōthōn*; এখানে *ō* চিহ্ন দ্বারা সম্ভবতঃ তিনি অ-কারের হ্রস্ব উচ্চারণ বা সংবৃত অ-কে বুঝিয়েছেন বলে মনে হয়। কোথাও আবার দীর্ঘ ও তুলনামূলক *soft* অ পাওয়া যায় যেমন *ban* যার উচ্চারণ ইংরেজি *bone* শব্দের মত। এরপরে জগদীশ ঘোষ ১৯৩৩ সালে বাংলায় দু-রকম অ-এর উচ্চারণ স্বীকার করেছেন। যেমন- ১। *simple* বা সরল ‘অ’, যার উচ্চারণ ইংরেজি *rock* শব্দের মত এবং ২। *deviated* বা বিকৃত অ, যার উচ্চারণ ও-কারবৎ (তুলনীয় ইংরেজি *home* শব্দ)। অধ্যাপক ঘোষ সরল ‘অ’ কোন্ কোন্ ক্ষেত্রে পাওয়া যায় তার পাঁচটি সূত্র দিয়েছেন। সেগুলি হল- ক) শব্দের প্রারম্ভে ‘অ’ যদি *negative sense* বোঝায় যেমন *anaṅga* [ʌnʌŋgo], *anaḍ* [ʌnʌ], *anadhikār* [ʌnʌdhiikar]; এই সব শব্দে সরল ‘অ’ পাওয়া যায়।

খ) একাক্ষরিক শব্দে সরল ‘অ’ উচ্চারণ হয়। যেমন-*jal* [ʃol], *phal* [phol], *ghar* [ghor], *path* [poth]

(ব্যতিক্রম *ban, man*) এই সব শব্দের উচ্চারণ হয় [bon], [mon] রূপে।

গ) দু' অক্ষরের শব্দে প্রথম অক্ষরের শেষে যদি 'অ' থাকে এবং দ্বিতীয় অক্ষরের শেষে যদি 'অ' বা 'আ' থাকে, তবে প্রথম 'অ' সরল 'অ' রূপে উচ্চারিত হবে। যেমন- *kalam* [kolom], *katha* [kotha], *bala* [bola], *kara* [kora].

ঘ) ধ্বন্যাত্মক শব্দের প্রথম 'অ' সরল 'অ' হিসেবে উচ্চারিত হয়। যেমন- *kackac* [kackac], *gamgam* [gamgam], *khapkhap* [khapkhap].

ঙ) শব্দের গোড়ায় যদি উপসর্গ হিসেবে 'sa', 'sama' থাকে তবে সেখানে সরল 'অ' পাওয়া যায়। যেমন- *sadal* [ʃadɑ], *sajal* [ʃajɑ], *sakṣam* [ʃakkhom], *savinay* [ʃabinœ], *samṛddha* [ʃommriddho], *sampurna* [ʃompurno]; ইত্যাদি

অন্যদিকে বিকৃত বা deviated 'অ' যেটি ইংরেজি *home* শব্দের 'o' এর মত উচ্চারণ হয় সেটি বাকি সব জায়গায় উচ্চারিত হয়ে থাকে। এক্ষেত্রেও তিনি উদাহরণ দিয়ে দেখিয়েছেন কোথায় কোথায় বাংলায় অ-কারের ও-কার উচ্চারণ হয়। শুধু তাই নয়, শব্দের শেষে অ-কার প্রায় উচ্চারণ হয় না (কবিতা ব্যতীত) এবং শব্দ-মধ্য 'অ' (তিন অক্ষরের শব্দে) অনুচ্চারিত থাকে। যেমন- *casma* (*casama* নয়), *camda* (*camada* নয়)। পদান্ত 'অ' যে অনুচ্চারিত থাকে যা পঞ্চদশ/ষোড়শ শতকের গোড়া থেকেই শুরু হয়েছিল, যা সুনীতিকুমার লক্ষ্য করেছিলেন, সেটা মানোএল, হালহেড ও অন্যান্য বৈয়াকরণদেরও দৃষ্টি এড়ায় না। বাংলা সংখ্যাচক শব্দ *tin*, *car*, *das* প্রভৃতির ক্ষেত্রে পদান্ত -অ যে উচ্চারণ হয় না কিন্তু *egaro*, *baro*, *tero* সেখানে যে ও-কারবৎ উচ্চারণ হয় তা হালহেড এবং পরবর্তীকালে অনেকেই স্বীকার করেছেন। কিন্তু যুক্ত ব্যঞ্জননের ক্ষেত্রে এই নিয়মের ব্যত্যয় হয়। যেমন- *andha*। এই ক্ষেত্রেও গ্রীয়ারসন সূত্রাকারে দেখিয়েছেন শব্দের শেষে কোথায় 'অ' থাকবে এবং কোথায় থাকবে না।

অ-কারের ও-কারবৎ উচ্চারণ বা অনুচ্চারণ ছাড়া মানোএল তাঁর গ্রন্থে অ-কারের উ-কার উচ্চারণ দেখিয়েছেন। তিনি সম্ভবতঃ পূর্ববঙ্গের উচ্চারণ থেকেই এই জাতীয় উচ্চারণ পেয়ে থাকবেন। তবে এক্ষেত্রে খুব বেশি শব্দ তিনি উদাহরণ হিসেবে দিতে পারেন না। অর্থাৎ এই জাতীয় উচ্চারণ সে সময় খুব বেশি চালু ছিল না। যেমন- *śahar* > *χuhor*; *paśu* > *puχu*; এখানে পরবর্তী অক্ষরে 'ও' বা 'উ' থাকায় আদ্য অক্ষরের 'অ' ধ্বনি 'উ' হয়েছে, যাকে স্বরসঙ্গতি বলা যায়। এখানে লক্ষণীয় যে শব্দের মধ্যবর্তী স্থানেই কেবলমাত্র এই জাতীয় উচ্চারণ বৈচিত্র্য পাওয়া যায়।

এরকমই আরেক প্রকার ব্যতিক্রমী পরিবর্তন হল অ-কারের *ẽ*-রূপে উচ্চারণ যা ১৯১৩ সালে মিলনে তাঁর 'Practical Bengali grammar' -এ উল্লেখ করেছেন। যেমন- *vyakti* > *bẽkti*; *vyativyasta* > *bẽtibẽsto*; এখানে তিনি স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই অন্তঃস্ব বর্ণ বা Semivowel কেই (*y*) এই জাতীয় পরিবর্তনের জন্য দায়ী করেছেন। ভাষাবিজ্ঞানের দৃষ্টিতে বলা যায় এখানে অপস্রুতির কারণে (*ya* > *i* > *e*) স্বরধ্বনির গুণগত পরিবর্তন হয়েছে। বাংলা প্রতি- এই উপসর্গের উচ্চারণের ব্যাপারেও মিলনে বলেছেন যে এটি সাধারণভাবে [prɑti] উচ্চারণ হবে কিন্তু অন্য শব্দের সঙ্গে যুক্ত হলে ঐ শব্দের অ-কার ই-কার রূপে উচ্চারিত হবে। যেমন- *pratidin* মিলনে এর মতে উচ্চারিত হবে [prɪtidin], *pratiphal* > [prɪtɪfɑl]; কিন্তু এই দু-একটি শব্দ ছাড়া অন্যত্র *pra-* উপসর্গের উচ্চারণ হবে *pra-* বা *pro-*। যেমন- [prɒbɦat]। নীচে একটা ছকের মাধ্যমে বিভিন্ন ব্যাকরণে প্রাপ্ত বাংলা অ-কারের উচ্চারণ-বৈচিত্র্য দেখান হল।

Sound	Changes to
a	Remains same [ɑ]
a	o

a	u
a	ě
a	l
a	loss

সুতরাং উপরের আলোচনা থেকে বাংলা অ-কারের উচ্চারণ বৈচিত্র্যের একটা সামগ্রিক চিত্র পাওয়া গেল। বিভিন্ন বৈয়াকরণগণ (মানোএল থেকে শুরু করে) অর্থাৎ সেই ১৭৪৩ সাল থেকে শুরু করে বাংলা অ-কারকে শব্দের মধ্যে বিভিন্ন অবস্থানে এই ধ্বনিটির কীরকম উচ্চারণ হতে পারে তা দেখিয়েছেন। এবার দেখা যাক অ-কার প্রসঙ্গে ভাষাচার্য সুনীতিকুমারের মত।

সুনীতিকুমার স্পষ্টরূপে বাংলা অ-কারের দু-রকম উচ্চারণ রীতি স্বীকার করেছেন। ইংরেজি law, all, caught প্রভৃতি শব্দের স্বরধ্বনির মত অ-কার (১) উচ্চারণ এবং ও-কারবৎ উচ্চারণ যেটা কিছুটা শর্তাধীন; অর্থাৎ পরবর্তী অক্ষরে ই, উ, য-ফলা বা ষ থাকলে অ-কার ও-কার রূপে উচ্চারণ হয়। যেমন-অতি > ওতি; বসু > বোশু; সত্য > শোতো; লক্ষ > লোকথো; সুনীতিকুমার তাঁর ভাষা-প্রকাশ বাংলা ব্যাকরণে তাঁর পূর্বসূরীদের মত প্রায় সবটাই গ্রহণ করেছেন। তবে তিনি কোনো ক্ষেত্রেই বাংলা অ-কারের উ-কার বা এ-কার রূপে পরিবর্তনকে স্বীকার করেন নি। তিনি বাংলা ‘অ’ কে সংস্কৃতের সংবৃত ‘অ’ হিসেবে স্বীকার করেছেন। এর দীর্ঘ উচ্চারণ পাওয়া যায় একাক্ষর শব্দে (জ-ল্, ব-ন্)। সংস্কৃত ব্যাকরণের শিক্ষা অনুসারে ‘অ’ কে ‘আ’ এর হ্রস্বরূপ বলতে অভ্যস্ত হলেও বাংলায় অ-কারের ও আ-কারের উচ্চারণগত এই মৌলিক পার্থক্যটুকু বুঝতে হবে। সেজন্য আমরা হ্রস্ব ই, দীর্ঘ ঈ, হ্রস্ব উ, দীর্ঘ ঊ বলি কিন্তু হ্রস্ব অ দীর্ঘ আ বলি না; বলতে বাধে, আমরা বলি স্বরে অ, স্বরে আ। সুনীতিকুমার তাঁর গ্রন্থে প্রাকৃতজ বা তদ্বৎ শব্দে, বিদেশী শব্দে এবং তৎসম শব্দে কোথায় ‘অ’-এর কীরকম উচ্চারণ হবে তা সুন্দরভাবে নিয়মানুসারে ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন। অর্থাৎ পূর্বোক্ত ব্যাকরণগুলোতে আমরা যে সমস্ত তথ্য আংশিকভাবে পেয়েছিলাম সুনীতিকুমার তারই একটা পূর্ণচিত্র আমাদের সামনে উপস্থাপন করলেন।

সাম্প্রতিক কালে অধ্যাপক পলাশ বরণ পাল তাঁর ‘ধ্বনিমালা বর্ণমালা’ গ্রন্থে (২০০১, প্যাপিরাস, কলকাতা) স্পষ্ট করে উল্লেখ করেছেন যে আধুনিক বাংলায় এই প্রথম স্বরবর্ণটি যে ভাবে উচ্চারণ হয় অর্থাৎ ‘৩’ রূপে (যেমন-অনেক [ʌnek], অবশ্য [ʌboʃʃo]) সেই ধ্বনি সংস্কৃতে আদৌ ছিল না; সংস্কৃতের যে ‘অ’, তা ছিল মোটামুটি হ্রস্ব ‘আ’ ধ্বনির মত, যা হিন্দী ও অন্যান্য আধুনিক ভারতীয় ভাষায় পাওয়া যায়। উদাহরণ হিসেবে তিনি বলেন ‘জল’ শব্দের সঙ্গে ‘অঞ্জলি’ কিংবা ‘পান’ এবং ‘আহার’- এই সব শব্দের যদি সন্ধি হয় তাহলে আমরা ‘জলাঞ্জলি’, ‘পানাহার’ পাব, ‘জল’ বা ‘পান’ শব্দের শেষের ‘অ’ যদি সংবৃত অ অর্থাৎ আজকের ‘৩’ বা ‘অনেক’ শব্দের ‘অ’-এর মত উচ্চারণ করি, তবে তার পরের শব্দটির ‘অ’-কার (অঞ্জলি)-এই দুটো মিলে আদৌ ‘আ’-কারের মত শোনায় না। সে ক্ষেত্রে সন্ধিতে ‘জলাঞ্জলি’ বা ‘পানাহার’ তৈরি হত না। সুতরাং এই সব শব্দের শেষ ধ্বনিটি ‘হ্রস্ব আ’। এ প্রসঙ্গে আমরা রবীন্দ্রনাথের ‘সহজ পাঠ’ এর প্রথম ভাগের প্রথম দুটো পংক্তি স্মরণ করতে পারি। যথা- ‘ছোটো থোকা বলে অ আ

শেখে নি সে কথা কওয়া’।

এখানে খুব সুন্দর মিল হয়েছে। বাংলার এখনকার ‘অ’ (১) এবং ‘আ’ পাশাপাশি বসলে তাদের তাড়াতাড়ি উচ্চারণে দুটো মিলে কখনই ‘আ’ হয় না; হয় ‘অওয়া’ গোছের একটা শব্দগুচ্ছ। কিন্তু সন্ধির নিয়ম বলছে অ + আ = আ। এই নিয়ম থেকে তাই বোঝা যাচ্ছে বাংলার এই ‘অ’ ছিল হ্রস্ব ‘আ’। অধ্যাপক পাল বলেন আজকের বাংলায় সংস্কৃত হ্রস্ব ‘আ’-এর মত ‘অ’-এর এরূপ উচ্চারণ অবশিষ্ট নেই। ভাষার বিবর্তনে তা পাটে গেছে, তবে সর্বত্র একরকমভাবে পরিবর্তিত হয় নি। কখনও স্বাভাবিক ধ্বনি ‘অ’ (১), কখনো

‘ও’ রূপে, কখনো বা সম্পূর্ণরূপে লুপ্ত। এরপর তিনি তাঁর ঐ গ্রন্থে বিস্তারিতভাবে উদাহরণ সহযোগে খুব সহজ সরল প্রাঞ্জল ভাষায় বাংলা ভাষায় কোথায় কোন্ জাতীয় ‘অ’ ধ্বনি পাওয়া যাবে তা যুক্তিসহ বুঝিয়েছেন। একই শব্দ বিশেষ্য হলে তা হসন্ত যোগে উচ্চারিত হয় কিন্তু সেই শব্দই বিশেষণ হলে শেষের অ-কার ও-কার রূপে উচ্চারিত হয়। যেমন-‘ভজন’ ও ‘গীত’ (বিশেষ্য) কিন্তু রমা কর্তৃক গানটি গীত [গিতো] (বিশেষণ) হইল। এই প্রসঙ্গে তিনি রবীন্দ্রনাথের ‘শেষের কবিতা’য় ‘অমিতর’ শব্দ ব্যবহারের দিকে দৃষ্টি দিয়েছেন। পার্থক্য যাতে শব্দটিকে বিশেষ্য পদ ভেবে হসন্ত রূপে উচ্চারণ করেন সেই জন্যই এই ব্যবস্থা। কোথায় ‘অ’-এর উচ্চারণ একই থাকে, কোথায় ‘ও’ হয়, তার যথাসাধ্য ব্যাখ্যাও তিনি দিয়েছেন। বাংলা ভাষায় এ জাতীয় পরিবর্তন যে খুব একটা বিশৃঙ্খল ভাবে ঘটে না, বিশেষ বিশেষ পরিস্থিতিতেই যে ঘটে তা অস্বীকার করা যায় না। প্রত্যেক ভাষারই একটা নিজস্ব বৈশিষ্ট্য আছে, নিজ গতি-প্রকৃতি অনুযায়ী সেটা চলে, যা বৃহত্তে বিংশ শতকের প্রথমার্ধের শ্রেষ্ঠ বর্ণনামূলক ভাষাবিজ্ঞানী বা সুনীতিকুমারের ‘বাকপতি’ তথা রবীন্দ্রনাথের কোনো অসুবিধে হয় না। কৃতিত্বের অনেকটাই তাঁর প্রাপ্য। অন্যদিকে দুর্গানারায়ণ সেন তাঁর ‘অ-কার’ সম্বন্ধীয় প্রবন্ধে (সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা) বিভিন্ন প্রান্তে বাংলা ‘অ’ বর্ণের উচ্চারণ বিকৃতির কথা বলেছেন এবং যদি এই বর্ণটির পার্থক্যসূচক এক-একটি অক্ষর রচনা করতে হয় তাহলে এক অ-কারই চার-পাঁচ প্রকার হবে। ‘অ’ এবং ‘হ’ দুটোই কণ্ঠ্য বর্ণ হওয়ায় কোনো প্রান্তে ‘অ’ স্থানে ‘হ’ এবং ‘হ’ স্থানে ‘অ’ এর উচ্চারণ হয়। তিনি বলেছেন ‘এমনও দেখিয়াছি যে, কোনো প্রান্তে ‘খ’ স্থানে ‘হ’ এবং সেই ‘হ’ স্থানে ‘অ’ উচ্চারিত হয়’। যেমন-হা, হাঁ, হ, অঃ, অ, অয়-একই অর্থবোধক এবং একই শক্তিবিশিষ্ট বিভিন্ন প্রান্তে উচ্চারিত শব্দ। সবশেষে তাঁর কথা দিয়েই অ-কার সম্বন্ধীয় এই আলোচনা আপাততঃ শেষ করছি এই বলে যে শিক্ষা দ্বারা উচ্চারণ সংযত করা ছাড়া অন্য কোনো উপায় নেই।

সহায়ক গ্রন্থ

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Bankim's Prose in the History of Democracy: Towards an Amphiglossic Account

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ABSTRACT

In part 2, chapter 11 of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's first Bangla novel *Durgeshnandini* published in 1865, Osman says, *apni to rajnitiggoM bOTen, bhabiya dekhun, dilli hoyte utkOl kOto dur*. 'You are indeed knowledgeable about politics, please ask yourself how far Delhi is from Utkal.' That was presumably the first time autonomous self-expression in Bengal's own language sought to articulate the political. It is argued in this paper that placing that passage in conceptual and political history involves tinkering with an innovative historiography and, in particular, tweaking some fundamental coordinates at the interface between the linguistic and the political analysis of democracy. One move made in this paper invokes the notion of paradigmatic recursion. Where syntagmatic recursion achieves Chomskyan infinity by stretching a discursive sentence lengthwise, its paradigmatic counterpart extends this infinity sideways by linking what one conversation partner has said to what the other partners have said. Bankim's discursive practices imply an approach to democracy that encourages the syntagmatic-recursion-laden High pole of a diglossic system to learn from the paradigmatic-recursive Low pole. To formalize this approach in terms that make sense in the context of the theories of our times, it makes sense to forge a new tool, amphiglossia, a bidirectional version of diglossia, which involves not just distance from power in the sense of Bankim's passage quoted above, but paradigmatic recursion as well.

1. Is a history of democracy feasible?

History-writing is generically allied to the state. There are, to be sure, apparently independent historiographers – willing and able to express opposition to current or past regimes in their country of origin or of residence. But even these authors, whose appearance of independence is sometimes well-founded at the level of a personal integrity project, follow writing conventions inviting a generic inference. This inference is that some ideally constituted state can and should use the products of such history-writing, in a suitably user-friendly rendering, in order to equip some viable narrative to be learnt by children growing up as citizens.

Such historiography may or may not presume a democratic default. For the state qua state, the democratic form is a historical option, not a constitutive compulsion. That certain discourses now current bespeak some sort of democratic consensus is a contingent fact. Some historical processes have enabled this fact in all its precariousness; other processes may disable it.

What reasons could we conceivably have, then, for imagining the possibility of a

historiography specifically wedded to democracy, and of embedding an account of the emergence of the political in Bankimchandra Chatterji's discourse in such a historiography?

The methodological proposals at the heart of the present intervention rest on the view that historiography can and must recast itself in relation to a self-conscious and symmetrically communicating citizenry seeking to represent collective processes. This view, in turn, stems from the belief that the archive – a specific kind of aggregation of texts – invites an exercise of recollective writing that shall from time to time make salient archival texts available to the citizenry, to the community calling itself 'we the people' and identifying this body of texts as 'our own archive'.

The foregoing remarks stake out some questions that arise if one wishes to undertake a social science exercise tracing the emergence of political concepts in the lexicon of serious prose in major Indian languages over the last few centuries. To be sure, not all the questions that arise in this connection can be answered – or even rigorously formulated – at the preliminary level of negotiating terms of reference for such an enterprise. But it pays to begin at the level of the framework.

A history of democracy cannot, surely, be written within a framework that accepts authoritarian or violence-promoting premises. But is our writing taking place precisely in such a context, which we and other potential participants have willy-nilly inherited? Are our readers invited – in ways subtle and unsubtle – to take Anglophone authors and their English writings especially seriously, and to regard such writings as the validating translation filter through which all other material must pass in order to be taken on board? And is such an Anglophone-imposed framework – regardless of the success with which it appears to distance itself from the overtly colonial form of authority – unacceptable if one's project is to write a history of democracy?

Readers who find it possible to respond with derision to the pointing up of such questions in a paper written in English may have failed to notice the distinction between symmetric and asymmetric translation practices. A multilingual context in which all participants strive to maximize translative symmetry and communicative equity promotes democracy. A context in which several languages are indeed in the picture, but in which only translations into a privileged medium such as English count as a preparation for having the translated material validated by some elite subcommunity, is manifestly asymmetric. Participants who seek to maintain such asymmetry are working against the communicative basis of democracy.

Why should it matter what medium a text is written in? Well, to see more clearly the importance of the work of ensuring symmetric translation between languages, consider one major attempt in recent times to overcome barriers that divide the national spaces of historiography and the corresponding state-sponsored educational apparatuses. This attempt was made by a group of scholars who, wishing to establish a new genre of historiography, wrote the *Historio por malfermi estontecon* (2007) – this translation of their work shall serve as our point of reference.

A tri-national committee comprising forty-two historians, drawn in equal proportions from China, Japan and South Korea, spent years co-authoring a secondary school history textbook that narrates the modern history of their three countries in a shared framework. This book, designed to enable children in all three countries to learn a version of the history of East Asia that experts can converge on, was simultaneously published in the three countries in their respective official languages. The Chinese, Japanese and Korean versions of the book count as equally authoritative; it is at this point that the symmetry of communication becomes important.

A few web pages in English briefly outlining the way the project was conceptualized and implemented, such as http://hrcolumbia.org/historical/bio.php?n=Soon-Won_Park (accessed on 17 January 2011), are indeed available. But the only translation published so far is the 2007 rendering into the Archimedean language Esperanto. This intercultural medium is used by some democracy-committed communicators as an arena where the terms of a permanent dialogue of all with all are to be negotiated at some distance from the Midas touch of regimes and other special interests. It is no

coincidence that this negotiation-laden mediating space should have played a role in publicizing this attempt to bring monoglot historiographical traditions into systemic dialogue. Note, however, that even such an Archimedean language serves as just a facilitator of symmetric communication across political boundaries – by no means as a unique filter intended to enable definitive validations. The premises of democracy are incompatible with any proposed ‘final solution’, be it Esperanto, English or Mandarin.

We take it, then, that a historiography of democracy is indeed feasible; that a small beginning has been made in East Asia; and that any such beginning has to take the language question on board for reasons of principle in order to equalize the representation of sectional conversations.

2. Reformulating the language question

Methodologically speaking, the terms monoglot and polyglot – as well as the conceptualizations of translation and multilinguality associated with them – are opaque; they prescind from the conversation-laden heterogeneity within each single-language label.

Language involves both texts and conversations. Any historiography, even that of democracy, must deal primarily with texts. Being sites of representation, all texts engage with the several levels at which individual speakers and writers variously situate themselves on the speech/writing axis. One approach that has enabled advances in this domain of inquiry is built around the concept of ‘diglossia’. In its classical formulations, diglossia was viewed as a binary contrast between a ‘High’ or authorial (writer-focused) subcode and a ‘Low’ or locutorial (speaker-focused) subcode within a single linguistic code, whose unity the community stably upholds. This two-code conceptualization – elaborated by Rabindranath Tagore (1984) and Pramatha Chaudhuri (1968) – constituted the basis on which Ferguson’s (1959) cross-linguistic formulation of diglossia depended, as did its theoretically motivated widening by Fishman (1967). Those exercises worked within the structural-functionalist commentary on the nation-state that took the official pedagogy as a point of departure.

Writings seeking to incubate a linguistics that can look beyond structural-functionalism – including Abel 1998, Britto 1986, Dasgupta 1993, 2011, 2012a, b – critique the code-diglossic theory and propose a discursive take. Under those ‘substantivist’ assumptions which oppose the ‘formalistic’ tradition of inquiry, the diglossic relation stops counting as an intersystemic contract that holds between two codes or sublanguages describable as High and Low. Substantivism conceptualizes the diglossic relation as a dynamic process; this relation plays out between discourses and is configured in terms of a high-low geometry constantly negotiated at the diglossic interface.

Hard evidence for this negotiation in the case of Bangla appears well before Bankimchandra Chatterji (1838-1894). An empirical study of diglossia in some prose pieces by Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) shows that even that iconic author, recognized as the founding father of High Bangla prose, exhibits diglossic modulation (Dasgupta 1978). Low effects spill over into Vidyasagar’s High prose as part of his generic dynamics.

Can we simply expand the scope of that analysis of Vidyasagar and look at the dynamics of diglossia in Bankimchandra’s fiction? Will this yield a take on imagining the nation or something, within which we then examine more particularly the lexical emergence of a political vocabulary? Just what is the project we are trying to find terms of reference for?

It is quite natural that readers committed to a nationalist reading of Bankim’s oeuvre should have such questions in mind. The self-descriptive apparatus in his prose encourages that construal, which underlies the overwhelming majority of commentarial writings about the man who composed the song *Vande Mataram*. And why should we speak of nationalism-focused construals of Bankim alone? The two-code conceptualization that drove Pramatha Choudhuri and Rabindranath Tagore’s project of decommissioning the old *Sadhu* norm for Bangla as a language and installing a more democratic *Cholit* variety as the new basis for normative practices also amounted to a recasting of

nationalist thought. Indeed, it has been read along these lines. If the point is to dislodge this long-held account of what happened, very strong reasons will have to be found for even considering another view of the matter.

My reasons have to do with the historiography of democracy. I propose to read Bankim as an author who introduced democratic discursive practices but who did not have conceptual tools that would have enabled him to articulate the key moves that he was making as an innovator. I take this stand in response to well-known extratextual facts – specifically, the way Bankim went about his work.

He did not begin his fiction writing in Bangla. His first novel, *Rajmohan's Wife* (Chatterjee 1864/1996), was in English. But he never published this serialized material as a book (it appeared in that form only posthumously). And he never did any creative writing in English again. Bankim inaugurated his career as a novelist in Bangla by performing a public reading of the text of *Durgeshnandini*. This decision, together with the decision to write in the language of the community rather than English, suggests a commitment to a conversation-anchored project.

This conclusion is in keeping with Meenakshi Mukherjee's analysis. In her foreword to *Rajmohan's Wife* she writes: "When Bankimchandra who was in the first graduating batch of the newly-founded Calcutta University, began to write *Rajmohan's Wife*, he must have known that the English-reading population of Bengal was not very widespread. Did he visualize very clearly who was going to be his reader? The half-hearted attempts at textual explanations of cultural details indicate a vague awareness of readers who may be outsiders to the Bengali way of life – possibly the British administrators in India – but given the historical circumstances and the place of publication, this could not have comprised a sizeable readership. His subsequent decision of never again writing fiction in English may have had as much to do with his realization of the illusory nature of his audience as with his nationalist ideology, or his honest artistic self-appraisal" (Chatterjee 1996: vii).

If starting a serious conversation had not been Bankim's intent, it would have made no sense for his first novel, in English, to have explored the intricacies of the life of women in contemporary Bengal. Mukherjee writes: "*Rajmohan's Wife* is very nearly realistic in its representation of East Bengal middle-class life. The story of the beautiful and passionate Matangini married to a villainous man is astonishingly rich in vivid details in the description of interiors and the quotidian routine of women's lives. [...] There is also an attempt [...] to foreground the ways in which the home and the world are inextricably linked [...] by locating the drama within the conjugal and domestic space in relation to the external arena of property, legality, crime and the colonial administration. Inscribed in the text we also find an early statement about the helplessness and claustrophobia of women in incompatible marriages that was going to be a recurrent concern of Indian fiction for many years to come. Given the rigidity of the power structure within the family among upper-caste Bengalis in the nineteenth century, it seems surprising that the first Indian novel in a contemporary setting should have focused on a woman of uncommon vitality who refused to be completely subjugated either by her brutal husband or by the expectations of society" (Chatterjee 1996: vi-vii).

There is a way not to let Bankim's choices surprise us. It seems to me that one strand – albeit only one strand – of a valid reading of Bankim's project in his *Durgeshnandini* can be expressed, somewhat dramatically, by casting him in the role of a Perseus bent on slaying Medusa, a.k.a. the moral and intellectual authority wielded by India's prototypical British rulers in Bankim's present, the nineteenth century. Meeting Medusa's gaze would have turned Perseus into stone; likewise Bankim could not afford, aesthetically and discursively, to take on his British targets in any direct confrontation. Such a confrontation, given the balance of epistemic power in his time, would miss the point.

Bankim saw clearly that the point was to establish a community of readers; this community, in the fullness of time, would engage in a struggle for democracy, beginning with the demand for

decolonization. He also saw that the founding such a community would have to involve women. Ergo, he would have to persuade his male readers to let the necessary female readership emerge. Hence the intricate trapezium of balancing acts that appears in *Durgeshnandini*, on this reading.

Perseus slays the gorgon by viewing her image in his shield-mirror. Bankim confronts the epistemic master by having his image mediated through a mirroring exercise. His narration has female deuterio-agonists receptively constitute politically supple male prot-agonists in a pre-British period of Indian history. The staging of this reception creates credible heroes whose counterparts, in an imaginable future, can take on their British adversaries. One major and intended side-effect is that such a depiction also helps readers (albeit dimly, in their day and age) to visualize an entire community which in such a future will comprehend and sponsor such heroes as they go about disestablishing colonial rule and founding a credible democratic alternative. By democracy I mean here the leadership of persons mature and thoughtful enough to be answerable to a critical public discourse that shall carry the full aesthetic and moral weight of the community's best understanding – typically expressed by women in their private conversations. What I am claiming in my Perseus reading involves a geometry of concentric circles; my point is that Bankim was aiming for that geometry as a whole, without necessarily having a flawlessly complete and lucid view, personally, of all its details.

I base this claim on the place of women and their private discourse in the entire range of Bankim's fiction. In particular, Bankim deploys the full diglossic gamut of options in his portrayals of conversation. Thus, if serious commentary is to keep up with the richness of what he pulls off in *Durgeshnandini*, we have to modify our reading of the language question. Specifically, we have to tune into conversation per se. Tweaking the linguistics of the conversation-discourse duality corresponds to unfinished business in the social science take on the state which I must, with deep regret, set aside in this already overstretched exercise. Let me stick to the tweaking that I must do here for immediate purposes.

3. Formalizing distance from the political centre

The standard pragmatics at the heart of familiar linguistic theories is due to H.P. Grice; it works with principles of conversation (Grice 1975) focused on the dimensions of Quality, Quantity, Manner and Relation (usually called Relevance). I propose taking seriously the claim that these are principles of conversation. It follows that they work at a formal distance from written discourse. How is this distance specified?

An institution's dispositions, expounded in a written document, specify the actual details of these dispositions in their concreteness and are free to resort to as many repetitions as called for; this is why legal documents look so impossible to the ordinary eye. But one individual conversing with another asserts her individual speakerhood by placing herself at a distance from this repetitive and pervasive presence of institutional specifications. Thus Gricean principles operate through a crucial semiotic distance between the primary conversational implementation of the principles for persons and a secondary textual version that enables listeners to extend the reach of the spoken language and parse the discourses of institutions. When this distance fails, you get caricatures such as a first year university student approaching a peer and saying, "Greetings, I am a first year student of Amuknagar University, I perceive that you are one as well, we have been encouraged to talk to our peers, so I am talking to you." Caricatures of this type, such as Sheldon Cooper in the television serial *Big Bang Theory*, illustrate what writing sounds like when it pretends to be speech and erases the distance between the two.

Earlier versions of this take are available in the literature of linguistics and pragmatics. One technically brilliant implementation of the thesis that speech works at a distance from written prose appears, for instance, in Ray (1963). But we can set aside for present purposes the task of tracking the

itinerary of the idea in linguistics proper. We can work with Bankim himself.

The proposal that the speaking positions that matter operate at a crucial distance from the centre of writing-qua-power is already expressed in the novel we are looking at. Bankim has his character Osman say in part 2, chapter 11: “*apni to rajnitiggoM bOTen, bhabiya dekhun, dilli hoyte utkOl kOto dur.*” ‘You are indeed knowledgeable about politics, please ask yourself how far Delhi is from Utkal’ – in other words, how remote ‘their’ capital, where ‘they’ imagine that they wield authority, is from ‘our’ province, where ‘we’ live and can think freely, even if we have to be circumspect about when and where to voice our not always obedient thoughts.

This distance from power is of course what enables the moment of the carnival in the sense of Bakhtin on Rabelais, the source of our current understanding of the novel. My preoccupations operate, however, at a formal level; hence the specific tweaking of pragmatics proposed here.

I take it that the overall reasonableness at the heart of the practices of personal speaking encoded in Grice’s maxims is to be distinguished from the impersonal models of rationality prevalent in the formal and social sciences. The Gricean model idealizes a speaker in terms of her adherence to the maxims, not at the level of the size of a sentence she is deemed capable of uttering. We can imagine a speaker who adheres to the maxims all the time; it is not a meaningful exercise to imagine one who utters indefinitely long and involved sentences, for such stretching would defeat the purposes of our pragmatics.

What, then, prevents a Gricean speaker from lapsing into pre-hominid non-recursiveness? Is it only the residual recursive examples, within the circumscribed limits of a reasonable adult attention span, that distinguish her from the best-known chimpanzees chronicled by our ethologists?

Our answer to this question is both formally and socio-politically more interesting than that. We take the stand that the written discourse (with occasional spoken implementations) emanating from the centre of the power-knowledge machine can and should be stretched to the point of imagining indefinitely long, involved and repetitive sentences, fully instantiating human recursive capacity in the sense of generative grammar. In contrast, spoken language is characterized by serial infinity. Speakers pick up each other’s cues and occasionally their own, building on earlier utterances in a serially recursive fashion, constantly demonstrating a higher-than-chimpanzee capacity for critical engagement with the centre’s authority embodied as discourse. This theory does not collapse even if chimpanzee conversation is shown to resemble human conversation in the use of pronoun-type cohesion devices and thus to manifest a rudimentary basis for serial recursion. For it has long been clear that chimpanzees cannot take on the challenge of critically and elaborately engaging with the discursive system.

The Rabelais-Bakhtin element of carnivalesque critique is a special case, on this construal. Speech as a whole is a constitutively democratic site where individuals take a dim view of the discourse of the powerful.

Furthermore, speech is a fluent traffic, where conversational turns taken by different speakers flow into each other, and even absorb the solidities of powerful discourse by forcing them into critical circulation. I propose to build this insight into the diglossia model by launching the term *amphiglossia* for the mutually critical relation between the writing-focused high and the speech-focused low ends of the diglossic spectrum in a democratic conversational culture.

4. Bankim’s deployment of the model

Bankim begins to show what model he is using already at the beginning of his novel. His very first sentence is “*997 bOnggabder nidaghSeSe Ekdin Ekjon OSSarohi puruS biSnupur hoyte mandaroner pOthe Ekaki gOmon koritechilen*” ‘At the end of the summer of 997 B.E. a man on horseback was riding alone from Bishnupur to Mandaran’. He starts with these historical coordinates, and then

precipitates his hero into a liminal space where talk can turn to fundamental categories – and does. On p 2, Bankim has Bimala saying, “*striloker poricOYi ba ki?*” ‘And what indeed is a woman’s identity?’ – to which the as yet nameless Jagatsingh does not reply: “*jubOk ekOthar uttor korilen na. taMhar mon onnodike chilo*” ‘The young man did not reply. His attention was focused elsewhere’ – a turn in the narration that invites the reader’s attention to the personal twist within the macropolitical framework.

Throughout the narration, Bankim keeps in view the option of switching on the full power of the historical discourse. In part 2, chapter 18 Bankim writes: “*Sondhir bistarito bibOron itibritte bOrnoniyo. e sthOle oti-bistar niSproYojon*” ‘The details of the treaty are for history to set forth at length. This is no place for excessive elaboration’. By then the reader knows quite clearly what purposes ‘this place’, “*e sthOl*”, can pursue to some effect. Tilottama gets her man; Ayesha loves and loses; on the way to realizing this, the reader is interpellated at the level of this fundamental arena of gain and loss, whose microdynamics Bankim interweaves with his portrayal of macropolitics. The interpellation takes the form of pulling the reader’s loyalties alternately towards one or the other of two sides engaged in serious combat, mortal or otherwise – takes the form of rigorously showing just how those larger institutional destinies specify the stakes in terms of which a particular protagonist makes sense of her emotions and choices.

In relation to the word “protagonist” I am choosing to write “her” advisedly. The major choices in Bankim’s writing are made by women at the level of their perceptions and the decisions that follow from these. It is possible that some readers may imagine that Bankim was not taking his women characters and their portrayal all that seriously. I end by examining a passage that dispels such an illusion.

5. A key passage and its translation

The original passage in standard transcription (with just one tweak: the nasal velar is rendered as a digraph /ng/ rather than capital /N/):

Durgeshnandini: ch 12: aSmanir obhiSar

diggOj gOjopotir monomohini aSmani kirup rupoboti, janite paThok mOhaSOYer kowtuhOl jonmiyache SONdeho nay. Otoeb taMhar Sadh puraybo. kintu striloker rupobOrnon-biSOYe gronthokargon je poddhoti ObolOmbon koriya thaken, amar SOdriSo Okincon joner tOtpoddhoti-bohirbhuto hOWa oti dhriSTotar biSOY. Otoeb prothome monggolacoron kOra kortobbo.

he bagdebi! he kOmolaSone! SOrodindunibhanone! OmolokOmolo-dOlonindito-cOrono-bhOktojono-bOtSole! amake Sey cOronkOmoler chaYa dan kOro; ami aSmanir rup bOrnon koribo. he Orobندانono-Sundorikulo-gOrbo-khOrbokaarini! he biSalo-rOSalo-dirgho-SOmaSo-pOTolo-sriSTikarini! Ekbar pOdonokher Ek parSe sthan daW, ami rup bOrnon koribo. SOmaS-pOTol, Sondhibegun, upoma-kaMckOlar cORcoRi raMdhiya ei khicuRi tomaY bhog dibo. he ponDito-kulepSito-pOYopprossrobini! he murkhojonoproti-kocit-kripakarini! he onguli-konDuyono-biSomobikaro-SOmutpadini! he bOTtOla-biddaprodipo-toyloprodayini! amar buddhir prodip Ekbar ujjOl koriya diya jaW. ma! tomar duy rup; je rupe tumi kalidaSke bOroproda hoiyachile, je prokritir probhabe roghubOngSo, kumaroSOmbhOb, meghdut, SokuntOla jonmiyachilo, je prokritir dhEn koriya balmiki ramaYon, bhObobhuti uttorcorit, bharobi kiratarjuniyo rOcona koriyachilen, Se rupe amar SkOndhe arohon koriya piRa jOnmaiyo na; je murti bhabiya srihOrSo noySodho likhiyachilen, je prokritiproSade bharotcOndro biddar Opurbo rupobOrnon koriya bOnggodeSer monomohon koriyachen, jahar proSade daSorothe raYer jOnmo, je murtite ajo bOTtOla alo koritecho, Sey murtite Ekbar amar SkOndhe abirbhuto hOW, ami aSmanir rup bOrnon kori.

aSmanir benir Sobha phoninir nEY; phonini Sey tape mone bhabilo, jodi benir kache pOrasto hoylam, tObe ar e deho loker kache loiya bERaybar proYojonTa ki! ami gOrte jay. ey bhabiya Sap gOrter bhitor gelen. bromha dekhilen promad; Sap gOrte gelen, manuS dOngSon kOre ke? ey bhabiya tini Sapke lEj dhoriya Taniya bahir korilen, Sap bahire aSiya, abar mukh dEkhayte hoilo, ey khobhe matha kuTite lagilo, matha kuTite kuTite matha cEpTa hoiya gElo, Sey Obodhi Saper phOna hoiyache. aSmanir mukh cOndro odhik Sundor, Sutorang cOndrodeb udito hoyte na pariya bromhar nikOT naliS korilen. bromha kohilen, bhOY nai, tumi giya udito hOW, aji hoyte strilokdiger mukh abrito hoybe; Sey Obodhi ghomTar srisTi. nOYon duTi jEno khOnjon, pache pakhi Dana bahir koriya uRiya pOlaY, ey jonno bidhata pOllobrup piMjrar kObaT koriya diyachen. naSika goruRer naSar nEY mOhabiSal; dekhiya goruR aSongkaY brikkharohon korilo; Sey Obodhi pokkhikul brikkher uporei thake. karonantore daRimbo bOnggodeS chaRiya paTna Oncole pOlaiya rohilen; ar hosti kumbho loiya bromhodeSe pOlaylen; baki chilen dhObolgiri, tini dekhilen je, amar cuRa kOtoi ba ucco, aRay kroS boy to nOY, e cuRa Onnuno tin kroS hoybek; ey bhabite bhabite dhObolgirir matha gOrom hoiya uThilo, bOroph Dhalite lagilen, tini Sey Obodhi mathaY bOroph diya boSiya achen.

Ashmani's tryst

My gentle reader surely wishes to hear about the beauty of the learned Gajapati's object of desire, Ashmani. It goes without saying that I propose to satisfy his curiosity. However, authors have established certain conventions regarding the depiction of the beauty of women; such an insignificant creature as I cannot be so audacious as to depart from those conventions. It is thus my duty to begin with the indispensable invocations.

O goddess of speech! Your lotus-seated majesty, as gracious as the moon of autumn! For the devotees of your feet which surpass the tenderest, purest petal of a lotus, your affection, o Saraswati, knows no bounds! Allow me to sit in the shade of those lotus-feet of yours; I shall describe Ashmani's beauty. You who shatter even the pride of lotus-faced women! You whose boundless creativity manifests itself in limitless compound words of matchless flavour! Permit me to sit next to your majestic toenails; I shall describe her beauty. My cuisine of compound parwals, of consonant-altered aubergines, of metaphor plantains will create a unique stew for the kedgerees about to be set on your altar. You whose breasts are exactly what the erudite doctor ordered! You whose affection does not exclude even the most vapid of intellects! You whose fingers are capable of scratching to the point of climax! You whose oil makes the lamps of Banyansbury shine brilliantly! Brighten the lamp of my intellect, I implore you. Divine mother! You have two forms. Your early form gave Kalidasa the gift of winged words, it was the spark that brought forth the Raghuvamsha, the Kumarasambhava, the Meghaduta, the Shaakuntala, the spark whose inspiration led Vaalmiki to his Raamaayana, Bhavabhuti to his Uttaracarita, Bhaaravi to his Kiraataarjuniya; I beseech you, do not burden my shoulders with your inspiration in that early form of yours; come to me the way you looked to Shriharsha who wrote the Naishadha, to Bhaaratchandra who portrayed Biddaa's exquisite beauty and entertained the heart of Bengal, the way you were when you inspired the birth of Daasarathi Roy, the way you look even now as the resplendent muse showering light on Banyansbury, do manifest yourself on my shoulder in that latter-day form of yours, I shall describe Ashmani's beauty.

Ashmani's exquisite ponytail reminds one of her serpentine majesty; her poor majesty wrestled with her wounded pride; her final thought was, if that ponytail outshines me, moving around in public places makes no sense any more – let me go back into my hole. No sooner said than done: behold, the snake was back in her hole. Brahmaa, the creator, had a new crisis to address; with the snake back in her hole, who then would bite humans? This thought prompted him to grab the serpent's tail and pull her out, whereupon her serpentine majesty, annoyed that she had to show her face again to all and sundry, started beating her head against the ground, to the point of flattening it, hence the serpent's

hood as we know it. Ashmani's face is prettier than the moon; thus, the divine moon, unwilling to rise, complained to Brahmaa the creator. Brahmaa reassured him: "Fear not; go forth and rise; starting today, the faces of women shall be veiled" – hence the invention of the veil. Her eyes are like little birds; to avert the risk of the birds attempting a winged exit, God has designed bolts for the cages, we call them eyelids. Her nose is of the epic proportions that Garuda's nose alone exemplified before her; the moment he set eyes on her, Garuda felt intimidated and climbed the nearest tree; since that day, all birds live on treetops. For similar reasons, the pomegranate forsook Bengal and took refuge somewhere near Patna, and the elephant, with its overgrown head, fled to Burma; that left Mt Dhavalgiri, who wondered how high his own peak could possibly be, at best two and a half krosches, but surely this peak here was no less than three krosches high; this thought gave Mt Dhavalgiri an overheated head, whereupon he began to shower ice and snow on his head, and to this day there he is, with his ice-capped head.

6. Conclusion

Those of us who participate vigorously in today's commentarial traffic, on seeing such a passage, are tempted to make a familiar move – pursuing the high culture/ popular culture binary that Bankim himself invokes in this passage, and moving the conversation entirely into the domains that count as business as usual in our disciplines. Such a gambit, however, might stop us from noticing that Bankim, for whom the high culture/ popular culture binary is after all a toy, is not just playing with it, but has other purposes in view. The dynamics of cultural power in the high/ low binary had not yet become a question in his times, and he already had enough on his hands: he could not afford to dwell on microscopic issues.

I chose to show you an entire chapter from Bankim's novel in order to bring out how important the portrayal of women was in his project. He takes pains to draw the reader's attention to the dynamics of various viewpoints even at the level of the description of the external appearance of women. Suppose we grant that these issues were on Bankim's screen; what now? Where am I taking this argument?

This paper did not begin with a comprehensive understanding of prose and try to place Bankimchandra on that map. What we did instead was take a rough and ready understanding of Bankimchandra for granted and, with some help from him, try to come up with a new map of discourse in general and prose in particular, since that is where democracy can happen. Hence our preoccupation with diglossia. Where are we now in that exploration?

The interim answer provided here comes from only one of the open sites of what needs to become a collective excavation. Others well versed in the historiographic and literary critical arts will obviously use appropriate tools to revisit their own construal of prose, of Bankimchandra and of the history of democracy. Their articulations will form an indispensable component, not represented in the present text, of a serious approach to the issues.

My own interim answer – which takes as a point of departure the thesis that the novel characteristically deploys several vantage-languages in one and the same discourse – is that Bankimchandra's fiction from *Durgeshnandini* onwards implies that this deployment is never able to work with purely horizontal relations between the vantage-languages in question, but always, in every vantage dyad, also invokes with the vertical, diglossic axis – in the sense that one vantage occupies the metalanguage position and treats the dyadic partner as its object language.

This claim about diglossia does not collapse into a special case of heteroglossia. The default geometry of distinct vantage languages in the discourse of a novel – if for expository reasons we wish to first take a look at that default in terms of a heteroglossic approach that has not taken Bankim on board – is horizontal. Consider an actual example: imagine that the narratorial voices of Nikhilesh,

Bimala etc. in *Home and the World* were not given the separate niches that Tagore does in fact give them; imagine that all the voices were run together in an apparently undivided narration. From such an apparent homogeneity, does the heteroglossic approach simply enable us to disentangle the distinct voices? No, it does not stop there; the point is also, while we do this disentangling, to notice what it takes for a Bimala to concretely realize her personal unity, going beyond her fractured self-discoveries as Nikhilesh's Bimala and as Sandip's Bimala. A totally relation-free Bimala point is never available as a site of self-validation; the self arrived at always has a geometry to it. To put the matter in the subjective terms in which a precritical reader may conceptualize the work of reading a novel, Bimala's 'finding herself' involves discovering the developmental path that leads her, through specific partnership-laden modes of relating, to a richer specification of these modes as uniquely her own. It is the site of such a *bildung* that brings out the generic power of the novel. Even in a novel highlighting the *bildung* of just one person, the apprenticeship of others also engages the reader, who joins them in the complex journey towards a richer comprehension.

What does Bankimchandra's invocation of the 'meta-vantage-language' relation allow us to add to this basic take on heteroglossia? Consider a Ram having a chat with a Shyam and deriding Jadu; can we as commentators afford to make the simple-minded claim that these deriders are placing themselves on a higher plane and that this is what counts as verticality and a 'meta-vantage' relation?

Much depends, obviously, on the manner of this deriding. Where Jadu socially stands in relation to Ram and Shyam on the grid constrains the range of aesthetic choices available to them as deriders. Besides, 'where Jadu stands' invoke several social dimensions – there is no single grid that determines the highs and lows relevant to computing this geometry. Do these corrections bring us closer to taking Bankimchandra's material on board?

Not really; these simple second revisions of our naïve first draft reflect ordinary heteroglossia theory and pragmatics. What Bankimchandra contributes is the realization that a particular vantage-language is never just a language: it is a vantage-point intelligible only in the dynamic, politics-laden diglossic context of that society's discursive repertoire. In other words, the hypothetical attempt to compute where Jadu stands vis-à-vis Ram and Shyam without looking at the diglossic geometry of their vantage-languages is a formalistic skeleton that a serious approach to discourse will have to clothe with actual flesh for the exercise to begin to make sense of a novel.

This is not a repetition the old point made by anti-formalistic social theorists about the meaninglessness of formal geometry devoid of human content. Bankimchandra shows that injecting the geometry with social content changes the geometry itself, structurally, as follows. The meta-vantage viewpoint that occupies high ground diglossically labelled as H[igh] and lectures to lowly mortals does not enter into automatic relations of symmetry with the meta-vantage viewpoint that occupies L[ow] ground and laughs at the heights. Establishing symmetric relations costs actual work, in the form of a struggle conducted at several sites, including the writing and reading of such fiction. Amphiglossia, the symmetric form of diglossia, is not a neat piece of architecture like a bridge; it is an activity that closely resembles scrambling up and down a steep, brambly slope. That site of struggle is where a society hardens its children into democratic citizens; every milieu in the person's private existence gets to play a role in the story of the struggle through which citizenship is achieved in each case, despite all the apparent disconnection between milieux.

Readers whose expectations had been raised by the reference to an easy-to-learn Esperanto in the opening sections of this paper – by the claim that that Archimedean language is a laboratory where symmetry and reciprocity are incubated – may find their hopes dashed as they hear these words about the need for struggle to achieve amphiglossic symmetry.

Esperanto is indeed a neutral language designed for ease of learning. However, nobody has made the absurdly exaggerated claim that its speakers have discovered a neutral discursive vantage point. Climbing up and down a steep slope is hard work. Adults who wish to prepare young children

for such climbing may tell them fairy tales that make the climb look playful and straightforward. The taste of those narratives in the recesses of our unconscious may lead us to hope for easy answers – this hope is the intimate form taken by confidence that our elders instilled in us by narrating those fairy tales when we were little. It is possible that the outwork that packages Esperanto comes with a largish helping of that fairy tale ethos attached. But even in their flightiest rhetorical excesses, Esperantists have never said that a neutral language automatically carries a neutral discourse without specific labour establishing such a site.

Bankimchandra's contribution lies in his example: he shows how to work towards discursive reciprocity between vantage languages. Reading his *Durgeshnandini*, we glean at least the following insights concerning the art of reciprocal, cross-vantage conversation in contexts where formal symmetry has not proved to be attainable:

In certain transactions, it becomes necessary to work with a metadiscourse relation between one vantage language and another; this is a necessity both in fiction and in real life. Any meta-relation is bound to have an overtly vertical look to it, but actual voices managing the relation are able in principle to ensure that that vertical appearance stays on the surface; the enterprises of harmless teasing and purposeful targeting use the apparatus of verticality in distinct ways. By the same token, meta-relations harbour a horizontal (i.e. reciprocal, symmetric) potential, whose practical elaboration can be idealized to the point of universalizability, call it the Kantian point. Metalanguage-focused practices exemplify this kind of idealizing (and the record shows that such enterprises have achieved some success in Esperanto).

If indeed Bankimchandra can be read as having invited his readers to push their discursive symmetry seeking enterprise towards the ideal of democratic citizenship, the question of whether readers today are able to keep faith with the initial promise is not confined to Bengalis alone. Translations into Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi etc. inserted Bankimchandra's fiction into the regional imaginations of South Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. If the exercises prompted by centenaries, sesquicentennial volumes and other numerological entities have led commentators in some of those languages to reread their Bankimchandra in recent years, cross-boundary conversation at a theoretical level has yet to take off. Seriously pressing for such a conversation will of course strengthen the ritual-bureaucratic spirit and have the effect of disabling conversation; one hopes it is clear that I am staying away from the pressure button! My point is just to reiterate that the broader question has to do with cultivating the democratic imagination throughout India. The narrow question that I have been pursuing beyond any reader's endurance has to do with what Bankimchandra's example tells us in the domain of the general theory of prose. Surely a reasonable number of readers will agree that these two questions are related – that our theoretical fantasies are hard to pursue without reference to concrete practices, and that Bankimchandra's enterprise was exemplary.

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Classifiers in Surjapuri

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ABSTRACT

Surjapuri is a minor language of India, spoken in eastern part of Bihar. It is an Indo-Aryan language. The language has not been worked upon much. The language shares feature and lexical items with neighbouring languages like Maithili, Bhojpuri, Bangla and Assamese. However, the language has an interesting feature which is not found in the other Indo-Aryan languages. Surjapuri has a set of classifiers which get attached to not only nouns and numerals but also to modifiers in the presence of noun. Classifier getting attached to modifiers is a rare phenomenon. Surjapuri has around four classifiers, including noun and numeral classifiers. They all have different usages. Mainly they differentiate nouns on the basis of humanness, specificity, plurality and shape. Surjapuri classifiers share very close similarity with the classifiers of the neighbouring languages Assamese and Bangla. Assamese and Bangla have classifiers which can be said to be parallel to some of the classifiers found in Bangla and Assamese. The present paper describes the place of occurrence of the different classifiers in a Surjapuri sentence. It also explores the semantic range of the classifiers. Reference of Bangla and Assamese classifiers has been used widely in the paper for comparing Surjapuri classifier. This comparison has been used for the better understanding of Surjapuri classifier system.

1. Introduction

Surjapuri is a language spoken in India, in eastern part of Bihar, mainly in the districts of Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia and also in some parts of West Bengal. Surjapuri is kept under the cover term Hindi in the census (2001), conducted by Government of India. However, Surjapuri is also taken as a variety of Rajbanshi (cf. Toulmin 2006:13-15; Clark 1970:70-71) or as a Sub-dialect of Northern Bengali (Arshad 2003).

According to Ethnologue, possible alternate names are Chaupal, Choupal, and Suraji. Grierson (1968) marks the other name of Surjapuri is Siripuria. Historically, it is said to be closely related to Kamta and Rajbanshi languages (2006 M. Toulmin). The language share features and lexical items with neighbouring languages like Assamese, Bangla, Bhojpuri and Maithili. The effect of Bangla and Maithili is so strong that according to Grierson, "the dialect in question is, in the main, Bengali with an admixture of Hindi, but it is written in the Kaithi character of Bihar, in which Hindi and not Bengali is written" However Kaithi script is not used any more. Devanagari script has replaced it.

Genealogically, Surjapuri can be classified as a member of Eastern Indo-Aryan language. It is a sister language of Maithili and Bangla. As it is a sister language of Bangla and Maithili, it is descendent of Magadhi Prakrit. Consider the following map (in Fig. 1) to understand the position of Surjapuri.

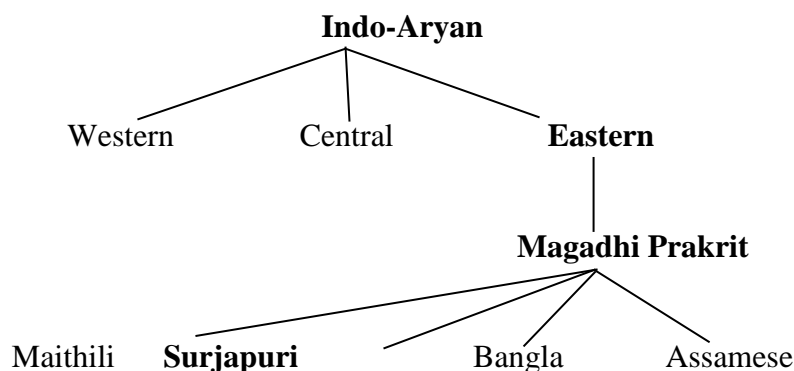


Figure 1: Genealogical tree of Surjapuri

Surjapuri language is often related to Muslim community staying in the Kishanganj, Araria, Purnia and Katihar districts of Bihar. As per my survey, Muslims dwelling in these areas claim that Surjapuri is spoken only by the Muslims. The Hindus of this region do not relate themselves with this language. Arshad (2003) also marks that the Surjapuri dialect is principally spoken by Mohammadans, but Hindus to the east of the river still speak Maithili. He further states “the Musalmans, who are said to be of Koch origin, speak a mixture of Bihari and Bengali, closely resembling the Koch-Bengali of Malda. This dialect is called Kishanganjia or Siripuria”. However, it is not studied in detail whether there is really any difference between the speech of Muslim and Hindu communities of this region.

2. Methodology and Objective

The present work is based on primary data collected from Surjapuri native speakers of Katihar and Purnia districts of Bihar. Mainly questionnaire method was used to collect data. The questionnaire was made in both Hindi and English, however Hindi questionnaire was found to be most useful in this region. The sessions with the language experts were digitally recorded.

The main objective of this study is to explore the classifiers present in this language. Mostly Indo-Aryan languages are not very rich in classifiers. Surjapuri is one of the few Indo-Aryan languages which has many classifiers. This paper not only wants to describe the semantics of the classifiers of Surjapuri but also wants to focus on the syntactic patterns those are formed due to the presence of the classifiers in a sentence.

3. Previous works on Surjapuri

It is difficult to find detailed linguistic description of Surjapuri. This language is said to have evolved in the border area of Bangla and Maithili. Grierson (1968) marks “it is extremely difficult in many places to decide with which of the two languages the local dialect (Surjapuri) should be classed, for Bihari fades imperceptibly into Bengali and vice versa”. Arshad (2003) gives a brief introduction of the language Surjapuri in his work which is basically deals with the social development of Surjapuri Muslims in the districts of Kishanganj (Bihar) and Uttar Dinajpur (West Bengal). He also describes the speech community and its various features. Alam (2011a, 2011b) has worked on case system and word formation of Surjapuri. He gives a brief description of word formation processes of Surjapuri. While discussing case system of Surjapuri he mentions that like many other Indo-Aryan languages Surjapuri too uses both affixes and postpositions to reflect cases.

Other than these I could not find any academic work which is aimed at describing any

linguistic feature of Surjapuri. Though much academic work cannot be found about Surjapuri language but there are many non-academic written materials available which are written in Surjapuri. Mostly they are written in Devanagiri script. Some songs and movies in Surjapuri are also being digitalized. Surjapuri has also good representation in social media.

4. Classifiers

Mostly every language categorizes its nouns. Some languages do it by using grammatical agreement classes based on features like animacy, humanness, gender etc. While other languages use certain morphemes to categorize their nouns based on some features of the noun like animacy, humanness, definiteness and/or depending on its shape, size and colour. These morphemes can get attached to nouns, numerals, verbs, deixis, adpositions etc. Though the classifier can get attached to units other than noun yet in all the instances it classifies only nouns. However, depending on its position, the feature of the noun on the basis of which the noun is being classified may change (as can be seen in the following examples).

Classifiers (Clf) are found in many Indian languages though it is not a common feature of Indian languages. They are mainly found in Tibeto-Burman languages yet they can also be witnessed in Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic languages. Only few Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla and Assamese have classifiers.

- a) *kitap-kʰɔn* (book-Clf) (Assamese)
- b) *zuali-zoni* (girl-Clf)
- c) *cʰele-ra* (boy-Clf) (Bangla)
- d) *mifti-gulo* (sweets-Clf)

Some of the languages use classifiers with both the noun and the numeral. Bangla, an Indo-Aryan language has both noun and numeral classifier, e.g. /ta/. When a numeral precedes the noun then the classifier gets attached to the numeral (Numeral + Clf Noun) otherwise it gets attached to the noun (Noun+ Clf). If the classifier comes with the noun, then it denotes a specific object. But when the classifier comes with the numeral then it does not denote a specific object rather it denotes one object from the whole class of a particular noun. Like in the following examples, classifier with the noun (e.g. 1) points out towards a specific noun (specific umbrella) from the whole group of the particular noun (group of umbrellas). While when the classifier is getting attached to the numeral (e.g. 2) then it is denoting one (umbrella) from the whole group (group of umbrellas).

1. *cʰaʈa-ta* *ɖao* (Bangla)
 umbrella-Clf give
 Give me the umbrella.
2. *æk-ta* *cʰaʈa* *ɖao* (Bangla)
 one-Clf umbrella-Clf give
 Give me one umbrella.

S. K. Chatterji (1970) gives the example in Bangla where the noun precedes the numeral. In such cases too, the classifier is attached to the numeral (Noun + Clf Numeral). It is obligatory for the classifier to get attached to the numeral in Assamese and Bangla in the presence of numeral.

- i. *ɖu-jan manuʃ-er*
 two-Clf man-Gen
- ii. *manuʃ* *ɖu-jan-er*
 man two-Clf-Gen
 Two men's...

Some languages like Tagin and Galo (Tibeto-Burman) has only numeral classifiers. They

occur only in the presence of the numeral and get attached to the numeral. They can never get attached to the noun. Following are the examples (from Kumar, Lahiri, Saha & Shekhar 2011).

3. *ŋoi* *pa-ken* (Galo)
Fish Clf-one
One fish
4. *tərop* *cə-ŋu* (Tagin)
ant Clf-five
Five ants.

Though classifiers get attached to many other units other than nouns like numerals, adpositions and verbs yet it is uncommon to find classifiers getting attached to adjectives in the presence of the noun. In Surjapuri, classifiers can get attached to nouns, numerals, demonstratives and adjectives. This rare phenomenon makes Surjapuri classifiers very interesting.

5. Classifiers in Surjapuri

Surjapuri does not have a gender or number agreement system but have a classifier system which is quite similar to that of Bangla. Surjapuri like Bangla has both the noun and numerical classifier but unlike Bangla the classifiers in Surjapuri can also get attached to the demonstratives and modifiers along with the nouns and numbers.

This feature of classifiers getting attached to the modifiers in the presence of the noun (where the noun is not dropped) is quite an uncommon feature for the Indo-Aryan languages. Though, it can be found in other languages of the world (Aikhenvald 2000).

When they are attached to the noun, the other suffixes like the case markers follow the classifier. It is not obligatory for every noun in Surjapuri to carry a classifier which is possible in many classifier languages (see Chierchia 1998 & Krifka 1995). So the noun can exist in a sentence without being followed by a classifier.

5. *p^hagu* *g^hor-e* *taka* *pa^halo* (Bangla)
Fagu home-Loc money sent
Fagu sent money to (his) home.
6. *ek* *ḍin* *u^har* *p^hon* *ase* *gil* (Assamese)
one day his phone come go
One day his phone came (one day he rang).

When the features need to be mentioned which the classifiers in the language denote, then only the classifiers follow the noun, in this language. Surjapuri mainly has four classifiers; /ta/, /la/, /k^hɔn/ and /ɟɔn/ or /ɟ^hɔn/. These classifiers make a semantic classification of entities based on specificity, plurality, humanness and shape.

5.1 Classifier /ta/

Classifiers are used depending on the semantic feature of the noun. /ta/ in Surjapuri can be used with any singular noun; somewhat to mark specificity or to denote a particular object.

7. *hati-ta* *more* *geilke*
Elephant-Clf died went
The elephant died.
8. *topi-ta* *gire* *gelc^hi*
cap-Clf fallen went
The cap has fallen.

In the above examples (7 & 8) elephant ('hati') and cap ('topi') are specific one from the

whole class of *elephant* and *cap*. This specificity is marked by the classifier */ta/*. So, it can be said that */ta/* classifier categorizes a particular noun as a specific one from the whole class, when attached to a particular noun.

When a modifier precedes the noun then the classifier gets attached to the modifier instead of the noun. But there is no change in the meaning of the categorization of the noun. Sentence 7 & 9 both categorizes '*hati*' (elephant) as a specific *elephant* from the class of *elephant*.

9. *bura-ta* *haṭi* *more* *geilke*
old-Clf elephant died went
The old elephant died.

10. *bṛṇa-ta* *dal* *p^heke* *ḡe*
broken-Clf stem throw give
Throw the broken stem.

11. *moto-ta* *beti-c^hoa*
fat-Clf girl-child
The fat girl child.

In most of the Indo-Aryan languages it is not possible to attach the classifier with the modifier in the presence of the noun. It can be witnessed in the parallel sentences of Assamese and Bangla which are closely related to Surjapuri. It can be seen in the following sentences that the classifiers are being attached with the noun but not with the modifier like Surjapuri sentences.

12. *bura haṭi-tu* *mori* *gol* (Assamese)
old elephant-Clf died went
The old elephant died.

13. *mota meje-ta* (Bangla) fat
girl-Clf
The fat girl.

The classifier */ta/* can also come with the demonstratives (Dem) in Surjapuri. Aikhenvald (2000) categorizes the classifiers those occur with the demonstratives as *Deictic Classifiers*. In some languages when the classifier comes with the demonstrative then it states a particular feature of the noun. However, in Surjapuri no such function of the classifier can be marked when it comes with the demonstrative. The classifier */ta/* when occurs with the demonstrative then also it marks the characteristics of specificity of the noun like it does when it occurs with the noun and modifier.

14. *o-ta* *lṛka* *jar* *buk^har* *c^hilki*
Dem-Clf boy whose fever had
kal *more* *gelki*
yesterday died went
The boy who had fever died yesterday.

15. *u- ta* *topi* *je- ta* *k^huti* *se*
Dem-Clf cap Dem-CLA hanger Inst
tṛṇal *c^hilo* *gire* *gelc^he*
hang Aux felt went
That cap which was hanging from the hanger has fallen.

In Assamese too we can see such occurrence of the classifier */tu/* with the demonstratives in the presence of the noun.

16. *zi-tu* *lṛrai* *gilas-tu* *b^haṇisil*
Dem-Clf boy glass-Clf broke
The boy who broke the glass....

25. *o* *g^hɔr-k^hɔn* *d̪ek^hilki*
S(he) house-Clf saw

He/she saw the house.

It can be also used with animate object to give an inanimate reading like in the following example where the boy is denoted as an inanimate object possessed by the (2nd) person.

26. *ʔor c^hoa-k^hən kamon c^hok?*
Your boy-Clf how is

How is your son?

It can also be used to classify abstract nouns like work, workshop, program etc.

27. *mor kam-k^hən k^hatəm ho geilke*
My work-Clf end happen went

My work was done.

This classifier too can be used with numerals, modifiers and demonstratives.

28. *o ək-k^han projekt pef kərijahil*
S(he) one-Clf project show did

He/she presented a project.

29. *o ək-k^han uorkfəp bulale*
S(he) one-Clf workshop called

He/she called a workshop.

30. *o lal-k^hən g^hər dek^hilki*
S(he) red-CLA house saw

He/she saw the red house.

31. *muj oi-k^han kitab kine ənnu*
I that-Clf book buy came

I bought that book.

The classifier /*k^hən*/ of Surjapuri seems quite similar to that of Asamiya classifier /*k^hən*/ which also comes with the flat objects.

32. *kitab- k^hən tebil-r upor-ət t^hoa*
book –Clf table-Gen on-Loc keep

Keep the book on the table.

In Bangla too there is a similar classifier /*k^hana*/. /*k^hana*/ can be replaced with /*ta*/ in certain cases in Bangla. But /*k^hana*/ in Bangla is used only with inanimate objects. Racova marks that in Bangla, “*khān*, *khānā*, diminutive *khāni* is used by preference to specialize objects of rectangular or flat form, or objects which have a framework” (Racova 2007, 125). To some extent it can be said to be applicable for Surjapuri as well but in Bangla this classifier strictly cannot come with animate objects. However, in Surjapuri, at times it may be used with animate object (e.g. 26).

5.3 Classifier /*la*/

The classifier /-*la*/ in Surjapuri can be used with almost every plural object. It also denotes specificity when it comes with the noun.

33. *c^hoa-la k^həile*
child-Clf ate

Children ate.

34. *o mit^hi-la k^hatam kore d^hilki*
(s)he sweet-Clf finish did did

He/she finished many of the sweets.

But this classifier cannot be used with the number as it is denoting a group. It can be used with the quantifiers like ‘all’, ‘some’ etc.

35. *o sɔb-la bɔgica dɛkʰilki*
(s)he all-Clf garden saw
He/she saw all the gardens.

36. *gote-la gacʰ kate dɪlcʰe*
all-Clf tree cut gave
(They have) cut all the trees.

It seems similar to Bangla classifier /*gulo*/ which can come with almost every plural noun but it cannot come with numbers. It can come with the quantifiers.

37. *boi-gulo rekʰede*
book-Clf keep
Keep the books.

38. *sɔb-gulo gacʰ kete dɪlo*
all-Clf tree cut gave
(They have) cut all the trees.

Like other classifiers of this language this one too can come with the demonstratives and adjectives.

39. *ma-r wohi-la baɽ sunije*
mother-Gen that-Clf talk heard
chʰoa kanwa lagil
boy cry started
Boy started crying after hearing all those his mother said.

5.4 Classifier /*ɟɔn*/ or /*ɟʰɔn*/

The classifier /*ɟɔn*/ which is also used as /*ɟʰɔn*/ is the numeral classifier. It is only used with the numerals but not with the nouns or the modifiers. It is used only with humans.

40. *ram ar sita dona-ɟɔn sinema dekʰwa gel*
Ram and sita two-Clf cinema to see went
Ram and Sita both went to see a film.

41. *ra:ɽ ek-ɟɔn neɽa kʰu:b pitwailcʰi*
night one-Clf leader very beaten
At night one leader was badly beaten.

The classifier /*ɟɔn*/ is also there in Bangla. It has the same parameters like that Surjapuri.

42. *ram ar sita dui-ɟɔn sinema dekʰɽe gælo*
Ram and Sita two-Clf-Acc cinema see went
Ram and Sita both went to see a film.

43. *ra:t-e æk-ɟɔn neta kʰu:b mar kʰelo*
night-Loc one-Clf leader very beat ate
At night one leader was badly beaten.

Since this classifier can only be used with numerals so if a modifier precedes the noun then also the classifier will only be attached to the numeral.

44. *dona-ɟɔn moto lərka sinema dekʰwa gel*
two-Clf fat boy cinema see went
Those two fat boys went to watch a film.

Classifier /*ɟɔn*/ can serve as substitutes for nouns. As they occur with the number so the number and the classifier together can denote the noun and so the noun can be dropped.

45. *dona-ɟɔn sinema dekʰwa gel*
two-Clf cinema see went

Those two went to watch a film.

Similar usage of this classifier is also possible in other languages like Bangla and Assamese.

46. *ora* *đui-jon* *sinema* *đekʰəte* *gælo* (Bangla)
 those two-Clf cinema see went

Those two went to watch film.

6. Conclusion

Surjapuri basically have four classifiers. Two among which (/ta/ & /kʰən/) can get attached to either noun or modifier or numeral. They are used to mark the object as specific when used with the noun or the modifier. However, when they are used with the numerals the sense of specificity is lost. The classifier /la/ is used only with plural nouns or quantifiers. It cannot come with numerals as it denotes plurality. The classifier /jon/ or /jʰən/ is a numeral classifier which can only be used with the numerals. It cannot be used with nouns or modifiers. It classifies nouns as humans so it can only be used when the noun is human. The following table shows the distribution of occurrence of the classifiers in Surjapuri.

Table 1: Place of occurrence of the classifiers in Surjapuri

Classifiers	Occurrence
/-ta/ & /-kʰən/ or /kʰən/	Noun- Classifier Modifier- Classifier + Noun Demonstrative-Classifier + Noun Numeral- Classifier + Modifier+ Noun
/-la/	Noun- Classifier (<i>Not with numbers</i>) Quantifier - Classifier + Noun
/jon/ or /jʰən/	Numeral-Classifier + Noun (<i>Not with nouns</i>)

These classifiers classify nouns basically on the basis of specificity, humanness and plurality. These classifiers /ta/ and /jon/ can be used with the number and the noun can be dropped when they are used with the number. Example 45 (above) shows the dropping of the noun.

Classifier (/ta/ and /jon/) plays a role when they occur in the sentences in the absence of the noun. It can be understood with the following Bangla examples (47 & 48).

47. *æk-ta* *cole* *gælo*
 one-Clf walked went

One (inanimate, like bus) went (One bus left).

When the noun is dropped and the classifier is used with the number then the difference between the classifier /ta/ and /jon/ becomes quite clear. When the classifier /ta/ is used with the number and the noun is dropped then the classifier cannot denote inanimate object. Similarly, when the classifier /jon/ is used with the number and the noun is dropped then the classifier only denotes human noun. The two sentences 47 and 48 can be contrasted and seen that the only change between these two sentences is the change in the classifier. The change in the classifier brings change in the meaning. Sentence 47 denotes to an inanimate noun while sentence 48 only denotes animate noun.

48. *æk-jon cole* *gælo*
 one-Clf walked went
 One (animate, like man) went (One man went).

The different semantics of the classifiers of Surjapuri has been plotted in the following table.

Table 2: Semantics of the Surjapuri classifiers

Classifiers	Use
ta	+/-animate but when noun dropped –animate, +specific with nouns, -specific with numbers
k ^h ɔn or k ^h an	-animate, flat objects like letter, leaf, clothes, house and concepts like project, conference, work, +specific with nouns, -specific with numbers
la	plural nouns, quantifiers; +/-animate, +specific
/ɟɔn/ or /ɟ ^h ɔn/	+animate, -specific

In the above table it can be seen that /ta/ can technically be used for any singular noun. It is a general classifier which can get attached to all the four; noun, numeral, demonstrative and modifier. If the noun is dropped and it is used with the numeral or the demonstrative, then it is used mostly to denote inanimate noun. However, the classifier /k^hɔn/ or /k^han/ is a classifier for inanimate objects. In contrast to it is /ɟɔn/ or /ɟ^hɔn/ which is only used with human nouns only. It can also be noticed that wherever the classifiers get attached to the numeral they give a non-specific reading. So the classifier /ɟɔn/ or /ɟ^hɔn/ can only give non-specific reading because it can only get attached to the numerals. Similarly, /la/ can only be attached to nouns and quantifiers but not to numerals so it always gives specific reading. Non-specific reading is not possible with /la/.

The classifiers system of Surjapuri shares similarity with Bangla and Assamese. Similarity can be found in both place of occurrence as well as in the semantics. Similarities can be found with Assamese but Assamese has greater number of classifiers than Surjapuri. However, the occurrence of classifier with the demonstratives in the presence of noun can be found in both Surjapuri and Assamese but not in Bangla. Comparison of the classifiers across languages gives a universal idea how the classifiers are used in the languages. It can be seen that most of the features of the classifiers of Surjapuri are in commonality with Assamese and Bangla though Surjapuri can use classifiers with the modifiers in the presence of the noun unlike Assamese or Bangla. But the use of the classifier with the modifier is similar to that of the use with the demonstrative which is also found in Assamese. So it may be said that Surjapuri is treating its modifiers like its demonstratives while dealing with classifiers. For Surjapuri classifiers, demonstratives and modifiers fall in the same class unlike Assamese and Bangla. This hypothesis needs more research. Exploring Surjapuri classifiers may even lead to some new findings about classifiers on the whole.

Abbreviations

Auxiliary	Aux
Classifiers	Clf
Demonstrative	Dem
Genitive	Gen
Instrumental	Inst
Locative	Loc

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Kurmali Kinship Terms and Its Morphology: An Anthro- linguistic Study

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ABSTRACT

In this study the kinship terms of Kurmali has been explored from both linguistic and anthropological point of view. Kurmali is an Indo-Aryan language which has not been studied to a great extent. This paper explores the area of kinship terms in kurmali language, and its outlines the standard kinship relations, associated set of terms in the language. The formations of such terms are also elaborated with grammatical analysis. Kurmali is a morphologically rich language and Kinship terms form an important aspect in morphology of Kurmali Language. There is less number of morphological studies in Kurmali kinship terms also. The study also showed that that the prefixes and suffixes play a major role in formation of the kinship terms in Kurmali language. Moreover for the formation of kinship terms, it follows a unified pattern or paradigm in Kurmali language.

1. Introduction

Kurmali is spoken in and around Chotonagpur (north and south Chotonagpur divisions of Bihar and Jharkhand and in certain parts of West Bengal (Purulia, Bankura, Paschim Medinipur, etc.), Odisha and Madhyapradesh. It is also widely used in the five Parganas of Rahe, Bundu, Tamar, Silli and Baranda as well as in certain parts of South Hazaribagh [in Chatanagpur (undivided Bihar)].

Kurmali has been often considered as the language of the Kumis. Many say that it belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of Languages where as others are the opinion that it is one of the Dravidian languages (Alam, 1987). The impact of Bengali is quite obvious. The speakers of the languages generally use it at home only. Kurmali is written in Devnagari in Bihar and Jharkhand as well as in Bengali in West Bengal. But some people have recently suggested *Chis* as its possible script. Quite a few items in Kurmali *Chis* alphabet resemble the Roman ones.

However, There are basically two types of kinship within a family. They are affinal kinship and consanguineal kinship. Affinal kinship is based on marriage. Most primary affinal relationship is the one between a husband and a wife which in its extended form includes spouse's parents and spouse's siblings of both sides. Consanguineal kinship based on descent is called consanguineal kinship, commonly known as blood relation. The relation between a child and his parents, between children of the same set of parents, between uncles and nephews/nieces are examples of consanguineous kinship. Both types of kinships have various kinship terms. A kinship term is employed to a designated category of kinsmen, a kinsman is an individual to whom one (Ego) is related by genealogical connections. They are culturally- posited relations among individuals which are presumed to be

established by processes of conception and birth and which are held to be inalienable and congenital (Scheffler, 1972, Sinha, Sarma, Purkayastha, 2012).

This study is based on the direct intensive observation and interviews taken from the members of Kurmi community in the Shyampur village of Purulia district of West Bengal. Questionnaire method was followed to collect the data and all the sessions were digitally recorded. Apart from the above mentioned methods employed in the field, the earlier published and unpublished field materials have also been used in this study.

2. Kurmali Kinship Terms

We describe the Kurmali relations through both consanguinity and affinity. We have followed the common ethnological abbreviations which are: [P= parents, M= mother, F= father, B= brother; Z= sister; S= son; D= daughter; H=husband; W= wife; E= spouse; G= siblings; C= child; e= elder; y= younger]

Consanguineal relations: The kinship relations are made by different ways. One among them is consanguineal relation which is made by blood. It is the relation among the same stock or common ancestors. The consanguineal relations can be classified into two types of relation, namely core and peripheral.

Representing kinship terms of core consanguineal relations: The relations made by the ego directly are the core consanguineal relations. The core consanguineal relations, as its name suggests are really the core relations and consist of ego's parents, siblings and offspring. For these relations, there are the following kinship terms (Majumder and Lahiri, 2018).

Table 1: Representing kinship terms of core consanguineal relations

Kin types	Kinship terms		Generation from ego
	Kurmali	English	
F	/baq/	Father	G+1
M	/mai/	Mother	G+1
yB	/b ^h ai/	Brother	G=0
eB	/ḍaḍa/	Brother	G=0
yZ	/bohin/	Sister	G=0
eZ	/ḍiḍi/	Sister	G-1
S	/beṭa/	Son	G-1
D	/beṭi/	Daughter	G-1

The core consanguineal relations are father, mother, elder/younger brother, elder/younger sister, son and daughter. So there are eight terms for core consanguineal relations. There is no sex and age neutral terms in Kurmali core consanguineal relations which are found in English like *parents*, *brother*, *sister* respectively. In Kurmali, the terms, viz. ḍaḍa (eB), b^hai (yB) make the age distinction and the terms, viz. dada (eB), ḍiḍi (eZ) make the sex distinction.

Representing kinship terms of peripheral consanguineal relations: The peripheral consanguineal

relations are not the direct relation of the ego but the ego's relations through the core consanguineal relations are called the peripheral consanguineal relations. It is also called the relations through relations. The peripheral consanguineal relations can be interpreted by a number of relations which are as follows:

Through parents' up generation:

Table 2: Representing kinship terms through Parents' up generation

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF	ḍaḍa	G+3
FFM, FMM, MFM, MMM	ḍiḍi	G+3
FF, MF	ḍuḍubap	G+2
FM, MM	ḍuḍumai	G+2

The peripheral consanguineal relations made by parents' up generation are father's/mother's father's father, father's/mother's mother's father, father's/mother's father's mother, father's/mother's mother's mother, father's/mother's father, father's/ mother's mother.

Through father:

Table 3: Representing kinship terms through father

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
FeB	bɔɽobap	G+1
FeBW	bɔɽomai	G+1
FyB	kaka	G+1
FyBW	koki	G+1
FeZ/ FyZ	phuphu	G+1

The peripheral consanguineal relations through father are father's elder/younger brother, father's elder/younger sister. These terms make a clear age distinction which is dissimilar to English terms uncle for FB and aunt for FZ.

Through mother:

Table 4: Representing kinship terms through mother

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
MeB	mama/ bɔɽomama	G+1
MyB	mama/ cʰotomama	G+1

MeBW/ MyBW	mami	G+1
MeZ	bɔro mafi	G+1
MyZ	mafi	G+1
MeZH/ MyZH	mɔfa	G+1

In Kurmali, there are similar terms mama and mami for mother's elder/younger brother (MeB, MyB) as well as mother's elder/younger sister (MeZ, MyZ) which is an age-neutral.

Through father's/mother's siblings:

Table 5: Representing kinship terms through father's/mother's siblings

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
FBeS, FZeS, MBeS, MZeS	ɖaɖa	G=0
FByS, FZyS, MByS, MZyS	b ^h ai	G=0
FBeD, FZeD, MBeD, MZeD	ɖiɖi	G=0
FByD, FZyD, MByD, MZyD	bɔhin	G=0

The peripheral consanguineal relations through father's siblings are father's brother's/sister's elder/younger son and father's brother's/sister's elder/younger daughter. The relations made by father's siblings are upholding both age and sex distinction. Elder and younger are distinctly noticed by the terms like 'dada' and 'bhai' which is unlike English to the terms like cousin which is used for both sex.

Through male ego:

Table 6: Representing kinship terms through male ego

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
BS	b ^h aipo	G-1
BD	b ^h aiji	G-1
ZS	b ^h egna	G-1
ZD	b ^h egni	G-1

Through female ego:

Table 7: Representing kinship terms through female ego

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
BS	b ^h egna	G-1
BD	b ^h egni	G-1
ZS	b ^h egna	G-1
ZD	b ^h egni	G-1

The peripheral consanguineal relations made by female ego are the same to the relation made by the male ego. But the terms are different. The relations, namely brother's/sister's son and brother's/sister's daughter by male ego and female ego are termed differently because of sex distinction.

Through child:

Table 8: Representing kinship terms through child

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
SS, DS	naṭi	G-2
SD, DD	naṭni	G-2

The peripheral consanguineal relations made by child are overlapping. Son's son and daughter's son are called by the same term *naṭi*. Similarly, son's daughter and daughter's daughter are also called by the term *naṭni*.

3. Affinal relations

The relations made by marriage but not by blood are called the affinal relations. In this way, there are two major ways to establish the relations although there are other ways for establishing the relation. Similar to the consanguineal relations, the affinal relations also have two further types. They are core and peripheral which are described below.

3.1 Representing kinship terms of core affinal relations:

The concept of the core affinal relation is similar to the core consanguineal relations but they are considerably different to each other. The affinal relations (made by marriage) through the core consanguineal relations are called the core affinal relations. The core affinal relations are made by the ego's father, mother, siblings and offspring. They are gradually treated in the following ways.

Through father:

Table 9: Representing kinship terms through father

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
FeBW	bɔɾɔmai	G+1
FyBW	koki	G+1
FeZH	moɟai	G+1
FyZH	moɟai	G+1

The affinal relations made by father are father's elder/younger brother's wife and father's elder/younger sister's husband.

Through mother:

Table 10: Representing kinship terms through mother

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
MeBW	mami	G+1
MyBW	mami	G+1
MeZH	mɔɟa	G+1
MyZH	mɔɟa	G+1

The affinal relations through mother are mother's elder/younger brother's wife and mother's elder/younger sister's husband.

Through the ego's siblings:

The affinal relations through ego's siblings are siblings' elder/younger brother's wife and siblings' elder/younger sister's husband. For these relations, there are four different terms in Kurmali.

Table 11: Representing kinship terms through ego's siblings

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
GeBW	bohudi	G=0
GyBW	bohu	G=0
GeZH	ɖaɖa	G=0
GyZH	ɟamai	G=0

Through the ego's child:

Table 12: Representing kinship terms through ego's child

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
SW, SSW, DSW	bou	G=0,-1,-2
DH	jamai	G=0,-1,-2
DDH, SDH	naṭ jamai	G=0,-1,-2

3.2 Representing kinship terms of peripheral affinal relations:

The affinal relations through peripheral consanguineal relations are known as the peripheral affinal relations. The peripheral affinal relations are also established through different relations which are treated as below.

Through parents' siblings:

Table 13: Representing kinship terms through parents' siblings

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
PZeDH, PBeDH	ḍaḍa	G=0
PZyDH, PByDH	jamai	G=0
PZeSW, PBeSW	bohūḍi	G=0
PZySW, PBySW	bohu	G=0

The affinal relations through parent's sibling are parent's brother's/sister's elder daughter's husband, parent's brother's/sister's younger daughter's husband, parent's brother's/sister's elder son's wife and parent's brother's/sister's younger son's wife.

Through child's marriage:

Table 14: Representing kinship terms through parents' child

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Bangla	Generation from Ego
SWF, DHF	bəhai	bəi	G-1
SWM, DHM	bəhanu	bəan	G-1

The peripheral affinal relations made by parents' child are son's wife's/daughter's husband's father, son's wife's/daughter's husband's mother. These are cross relations and reciprocal terms.

Through ego's siblings:

Table 15: Representing kinship terms through ego's siblings

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Bangla	Generation from Ego
BSW	bohu	bouma	G+1
BDH	ɟamai	ɟamai	G+1
ZSW	bohu	bouma	G+1
ZDH	ɟamai	ɟamai	G+1

The peripheral affinal relations made by ego's siblings are brother's/sister's son's wife and brother's/sister's daughter's husband.

Through ego's wife:

Table 16: Representing kinship terms through ego's wife

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
W	bohu	G=0
WeB	ɟala	G=0
WeBW	ɟorɟi	G=0
WyB	ɟala	G=0
WyBW	ɟorɟi	G=0
WeZ	ɟali	G=0
WeZH	ɟaru	G=0
WyZ	ɟali	G=0
WyZH	ɟaru	G=0

These peripheral affinal relations, as mentioned in the table are made by ego's wife perspective. The ego is male and the relations are established through his wife. The relations through wife are wife, wife's elder brother and his wife, wife's younger brother and his wife, wife's elder sister and her husband, wife's younger sister and her husband.

Through ego's husband:

Table 17: Representing kinship terms through ego's husband

Kinship relation	Kurmali	Generation from Ego
H	ɟami	G=0
HeB	b ^h aɟur	G=0

HeBW	gɔ̃ni	G=0
HyB	ɖɛuɔɾ	G=0
HyBW	gɔ̃ni	G=0
HeZ	tʰakurɟʰi	G=0
HeZH	nɔ̃nodɟu	G=0
HyZ	nɔ̃nod	G=0
HyZH	nɔ̃nodɟu	G=0

The relations made by ego's husband are more similar to the relations made by ego's wife. But there are different terms for some relations like wife's younger brother (WyB) and husband younger brother (HyB).

Morphology in linguistics means, the study of the structure and content of word forms. Now a day's morphology is considered an autonomous component on the same footing as syntax and semantics. The term morphology is Greek and is a makeup of morph- meaning 'shape, form', and -ology which means 'the study of something'. The term is used not only in linguistics but also in biology as the scientific study of forms and structure of animals and plants, and in geology as the study of formation and evolution of rocks and land forms. I am going to stick to morphology in linguistics, as the scientific study of forms and structure of words in a language. The knowledge of morphology is necessary in order to know the way the human brain works and processes language. It will help to produce new alternatives to learn languages and it will permit its application to artificial intelligence. The words are considered to be fundamental building blocks of language. A word (i.e. word form), in real sense, can either be in simple, complex, compound or reduplicated. A simple word consists of a root or stem together with suffixes or prefixes. A compound term can be broken up into two or more independent terms. A compound term can be broken up into two or more independent terms. Kurmali has a number of kinship terms in which female gender is indicated by a final suffix i.e /-i/ such as /beɟa/ 'son' versus /beɟi/ 'daughter'.

Nouns in Kurmali in which the gender is indicated either by certain change or by some sorts of marker are said to have morphological gender. A small set of Kurmali kinship terms(nouns) such as kaka 'paternal uncle' takes / -i/ and changes to feminine as kaki: 'aunt' Another set of terms such as naɟi 'grandson' changes to its feminine form as naɟi-ni: by taking suffix /-ni/.

Table 18 Representing Morphological gender

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss	Gender Marker
kaka	Uncle	koki	Aunt	/-i/
naɟi	Grandson	naɟni	Grand daughter	/-ni/
beɟa	Son	beɟi	Daughter	/-i/
raɟ	Widower	raɟi	Widow	/-i/
ɟala	Wife's brother	ɟali	Wife's sister	/-i/

In Kurmali kinship terminology, as in the lexicon in general, biological gender can be emphasized or disambiguated with of the two gendered suffixes "ɟɔɟur" (Father-in law) and "ɟɔɟuri" (Mother-in-law) like bangle kinship terminology. It may be observed the addition of "ɟɔɟur" and "ɟɔɟuri" is not only used for distinguishing the sex of the kinsmen but also found attached to the kin terms. The 'ɟɔɟur'

suffix generally added with male and ‘ʃɔʃuri’ with female gender. For example mamaʃɔʃur (mother-in-laws elder/younger brother) and mamaʃɔʃuri (mother-in-laws elder/younger brother’s wife) and both derived from the kinship term mama (mother-in-laws elder/younger brother). Some examples with their corresponding gender marker are given below:

Table 19 Representing gender marker

Noun (Kinship Term)	Suffix/ Gender Marker
mamaʃɔʃur	ʃɔʃur <male>
mamaʃɔʃuri	ʃɔʃuri <female>
Jet ^h aʃɔʃur	ʃɔʃur <male>
Jet ^h iʃɔʃuri	ʃɔʃuri <female>
kaka ʃɔʃur	ʃɔʃur <male>
kaka ʃɔʃuri	ʃɔʃuri <female>

Doubling, reduplicative, near reduplicative or mirror forms is a common and well-attested feature of kinship terminologies in many of the world’s languages, including Kurmali. In reduplication, the reduplicate is most often repeated only once. However, in some languages, reduplication can occur more than once. The kinship term ‘kaka’ (father’s younger brother) is a reduplication form of ‘ka.’ And other examples are ‘mama’ (mother’s brother), ‘didi’ (‘elder sister) etc.

A word can either be in simple, complex, or compound. A simple word consists of a root or stem together with suffixes or prefixes. A compound term can be broken up into two or more independent terms. Same rule is applicable for Kurmali Kinship terms. Some Kurmali kinship term consists of one or more independent kinship terms. /mama/ and /ʃɔʃur/ are two independent kinship term in Kurmali language. /mamaʃɔʃur/ also another kinship term in Kurmali which is the combination of previous two kinship term mama (Mother’s Brother) and ʃɔʃur (Wife’s/ Husband’s Father). Some examples with their corresponding word form (simple & Compound) are given below:

mamaʃɔʃur (compound)	→	mama (simple) + ʃɔʃur (simple)
Jet ^h aʃɔʃur (compound)	→	Jet ^h a (simple) + ʃɔʃur (simple)

In Kurmali kinship, there are two numbers and these are singular and Plural. For the plural of noun, generally it adds the suffix -ra/-der to the end of a word.

Table 20 Representing Number

Kurmali Singular	Kurmali Plural
bəhin	bəhinra/ bəhinder
bhai	bhaira/ bhaider
mama	mamara/ mamader

4. Conclusions

Kinship terms generally replace an individual’s given name, both as a term of address and for reference. Moreover the metaphorical usage of kinship terms to non-kin is widely observed among the Kurmali language. Formation of kinship terms in Kurmali language and its morphology have been

discussed in the paper. It is seen that the prefixes and suffixes play a major role in formation of the kinship terms in Kurmali Language.

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Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Characteristics of Advertising and Marketing Language used by IIT-Coaching Institutes

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ABSTRACT

This paper scrutinizes the advertising language used by IIT coaching institutes in Kota, Rajasthan in advertisements, pamphlets, brochures, print and online papers magazines, websites etc. It presents an analysis of linguistic and non-linguistic characteristics of the advertising language used. The investigation additionally uncovered that linguistic and non-linguistic methods were utilized to promote and publicize the services offered and to urge the students as potential customers to seek admission in the IIT coaching institutes, whether good or not so good. Based on the structure and context of stylistics, it was found that the advertisement was convincing, persuasive and credible. Moreover, they served the purpose of attracting the students and their parents' attention towards the services offered by the coaching institutes. The linguistic forms and structures consist of the ways and styles of writings, lexical selection, phonological characteristics, semantic features, use of precise and concise words, utilization of proper names, figures and numbers and emotive articulations. The non-linguistic forms included the graphological and the graphetic, mainly used to attract the attention of IIT aspiring students and their parents towards the achievement of the institutes by the utilization of uncommon punctuations, accentuations, images, figures, chart, and graphs. The intention was to maximize the impact of the message for the potential customers. The language of these advertisements is unique and more research may be done on the language and its linguistic and non-linguistic characteristics.

1. Introduction

1.1 The language of advertising

Advertising targets consumers with a view of generating their interests in a product/ service and causing desired action, i.e. either purchase of a product or hiring of the services offered. Advertising and marketing language, thus, is a powerful tool of communication used for sending across message to the targeted audience, the prospective customers. It has a vital part to play in the marketing world, which is faced with a cut throat competition. It shapes the customers' attitudes, and influences their thoughts and behaviours.

1.2 Advertising and marketing by IIT Coaching institutes in Kota

Situated approximately 250 km south of Jaipur, Kota is an educational hub. It has been drawing nearly 125,000 students from all over the country on a yearly basis, since 2003, when V.K. Bansal, a graduate from IIT-Delhi with a cureless progressive disease, initially started teaching IIT aspiring students. Now, Bansal Classes has eleven centers countrywide. Later, R.K. Verma, a graduate from IIT-Madras, started another institute named Resonance, which joined with HCL to start up a hundred coaching centers. J.C. Chaudhry, a graduate from BITS- Pilani started another institute called Aakash, which now had a hundred study-centers and a hundred and twenty five exam-centers. K. Goel, a graduate from IIT-Delhi, started FIITJEE, an institute which enrolls nearly on lac IIT aspirants every year. IIT coaching turned into an organized, million-dollar industry, in Kota with approximately 150 coaching institutes in Kota, according to Education, an online magazine dated 17 July, 2015. Allen Career Institute, Paradise, Career Point, Brilliant Tutorials, IIT-ians Pace, Career Launcher, etc. set up as many as one thousand centers since 2012 across India, with Kota as the center.

The study aims to scrutinize and study the advertising and marketing techniques used by these coaching institutes as a gap was noticed; no in-depth analysis of the linguistic and non-linguistic characteristics of the advertising has been carried out till date. The present study aims to fill the gaps by focusing on the advertising language of these institutes which include flashy words, highlighting every accomplishment, and every rank-holder of the institute, in print and online media including the social media, Facebook etc., where coaching institutes have pages replete with photographs of ceremonies showing toppers being bestowed with awards by ex-IITians/ celebrities. The attractive advertisements promise the students success and the same are used for the present study.

2. Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to determine the language and linguistic and non-linguistic features of the advertising language used by IIT coaching institutes in Kota.

Advertising plays an enormously significant role in the contemporary market (Tellis, 2004). They are undoubtedly ubiquitous phenomena enticing students and their parents with messages every now and then, through television, internet, newspapers etc. Advertisements sway the opinions, outlooks, and choices of the people. A cursory glance at the advertisements show the cut throat competition which exists among the IIT coaching institutes, and the means by which they inform the students, their potential consumers of new and improved products/ services. Most institutes, ranging from small to large, rely on advertising to communicate with the students and to inform them of the services they provide to them by coaching them properly for IIT entrance test. The students and their parents give importance to these advertisements and are influenced by them while making choices. Confirmation of the growing prominence of the advertisements is evident by the amount IIT coaching institutes spend on them.

The present study may be significant to advertising practitioners as well as educational institutes and policy makers in Kota, Rajasthan, by providing them with insight into the linguistic and language features of the advertisements, which may be successfully utilized for persuading the potential consumers. The study may also assist the policy makers in the advertising industry for improving the language in advertisements, which will consequently increase their effectiveness. The study may also be of value to researchers/ academicians exploring the areas of language and linguistics.

3. Theoretical Background

‘Advertisement’ derived from a Latin word, ‘advertere’, means ‘to turn towards’ (Goddard 1998:6).

Advertisements influence on how we create our identity (Ang et al., 2006; Musolff, 2005; Toncar et al., 2001; Van Mulken et al., 2005). The functions of advertising are to encourage the awareness of the brand, to notify, convince and endorse marketing, (Kenneth Clow and Donald Baack 2012) as well as motivate to take action (Clow, Baack 2012: 143–145). Therefore, the language used in advertisements is informative, convincing, and emotional (Coulson, 1984). The linguistic characteristics of the language of advertising have been systematically studied (Leech 1966; Dyer 1988; Cook 1992), as the audience oriented language (Broom 1978) serves the purpose of acquainting the people about the availability of a product/ service. Examples of emotive nature of the language abound extensively in the advertisements of IIT coaching, where one observes selected lexical items are used more often than others. The advertisements of coaching institutes assert they “help” or “guide” the students, thereby appealing to the emotions of the students. One perceives herein “a figure” which is “an art of deviation” (Corbett 1990), a deviation from the norm that makes sense; it only affects the form but not the content (Genette 1982). Advertising endorses a consumer culture (Sells and Gonzalez 2002: 166), and creates an apparent need for a product in the market (Ang et al., 2007; Iten, 2005; Jazczolt, 2005).

4. Methodology

For the present study, advertising texts from topmost IIT coaching institutes from Kota were selected. Data drawn from sources such as advertisements, brochures, pamphlets, websites, social media etc. and was analyzed. Under linguistic analysis of advertising language used by IIT Coaching Institutes in Kota, Phonological characteristics and Semantic characteristics, and emotive language were analyzed. For the graphological / the graphitic use of punctuations, color, images, figures and numbers and their usage was studied.

5. Discussion and Results

The study focuses on the linguistic and non-linguistic characteristics of the advertising language used by these IIT coaching institutes.

5.1 Linguistic Analysis: Phonological characteristics of advertising language

It was noted that the programmes which were called simply “one year”/ “two year”, were renamed as “Diamond Course for Drop Outs”, “Little Genie Course for Class VI Students”, “Einstein’s Special Batch”, “iTutor” and so on. The Bansal website reads:

“Bull’s Eye Course: The best brains compete for this legendary two year course. The course, unmatched in its rigor and precision, raises you to the very zenith of your preparation.”

“Acme: If you missed out on Bull’s Eye, don’t lose heart. This course can still help you shape your future.”

Advertising language at times resembles poetic texts (Mihaela Vasiloaia 2009), as many mnemonic devices (rhyme, rhythm, alliteration, assonance, etc.) are used. The linguistic devices attract the students as prospective customers and help them to recall the information easily as it may be indelibly seared in their memories for a long time.

“Success in JEE needs many things – razor sharp precision, calm temperament and flawless knowledge” (BANSAL).

“...structured programme ‘EDGE’ to prepare students for the prestigious competitive exams...” (VIBRANT)

The attempts to form ‘a rhetorical bridge’ between the services offered/ the institute and the consciousness of the consumers (Sayer, 2006; Saussure & Schulz, 2005) are discernible. The advertisements also made use of multiple adjectives, as well as comparative and superlative degrees to

exhibit the excellent quality/superiority of the services. Whenever the string of adjectives appeared to be less efficacious, intensifiers were used, for example certainly, really, very, extraordinarily, etc. The techniques most recurrently used in advertising language for coaching institutes advertisements are:

5.1.1 Rhyme

The sound technique, rhyming, is frequently used for advertising purpose. Rhyme, “the formalized consonance of syllables” (Cuddon, 1999: 750), used at the end of lines adds beauty to the advertising language, makes the headlines seem more striking and more memorable (Leech 1972), adds a resonating quality (Xiaosong Ding 2003). Moreover, the rhymes help in transmitting information. As an example the Bansal slogan “Abki Baar, Bansal Chalo Yaar”, the information is presented in a simple way by using rhyming words, which catches the eyes of the potential customers. Moreover, the use of the word “Yaar,” meaning a friend, signifies bonding and brotherhood. It may be noted that the rhyme is used in the slogan, it reflects the brand. In this example the brand name is also a part and parcel of the rhyme.

5.1.2 Rhythm

The advertising language is replete with rhythmical arrangement of words, especially of stressed and unstressed syllables (Cuddon 1999: 753), which is perceived on a subconscious level (Leech 1972; Vasiloaia 2009; Cook 1996). For example, in a tagline used by an IIT coaching institute “Live your life, live your dream”, the stressed and unstressed syllables add rhythm and attract attention to the message, and make it more interesting.

5.1.3 Alliteration

A figure of speech, in which consonants, especially at the beginning of words, or stressed syllables, are repeated (Cuddon 1999: 23), is called Alliteration. The stressed syllable of a word may carry the alliteration (Leech 1969: 92). Alliteration may be used into the brand name or in the name of the courses for IIT examination. Instances of alliteration can be found in Resonance ad “Integrated program Elite for IIT” or “Coupled with quality of life at SaleQui... the student success rate” “building block”, “providing a solid conceptual foundation which builds the confidence and command” and “Preliminary Preparation” etc. The repeating of the first consonant sounds makes the message more attractive for the potential customers.

5.1.4 Onomatopoeia

A figure of speech where the sound reproduces the meaning is called Onomatopoeia or echoism. The “use of words to imitate sounds” (Cuddon 1999: 614–615) creates a special effect. An instance in advertising language was the use of “tick- tick”, indicating time was running out. The repetition of the words as well as the sound of the words reminds one of the sounds produced by a clock.

5.1.5 Synecdoche

A trope and a figure of speech, in which a part is made to represent the whole or vice versa, is called a Synecdoche. Synecdoche may denote an entity by the substance from which it is made or denote to the contents in a container by the container itself. In the following texts, Synecdoche is used:

“At this juncture, we offer you our *helping hand*.”

“The *best brains* compete to get admission to this foundation course.” (Bansal)

5.2 Semantic characteristics of advertising language for coaching institutes:

One of the most important things about advertising is emotional appeal; as such the coaching institutes

make use of content that to evoke people's emotions, both positive and negative. It is of a vital importance to focus on how the advertisements target the emotions of potential customers, using the following:

5.2.1 Personification

"The impersonation or embodiment of some quality or abstraction; the attribution of human qualities to inanimate objects" (Cuddon 1999: 661) is called Personification. This rhetorical device was used frequently in the advertisements by coaching institutes and inanimate objects were endowed with human qualities to make the message more dramatic and more attractive for the potential customer. Even the names of the institutes were personified:

"Change does not roll on the wheels of inevitability, but comes through continuous struggle."

"Innovation distinguishes between a leader and a follower." (Bansal)

"ALLEN stands proud on a very strong pool of well-qualified, experienced, dedicated and hardworking professionals who are passionate for teaching". (Allen)

"Motion truly believes in nurturing potential through education". (Motion)

In the first two examples abstract concepts and in the last two, the names of the institute, all inanimate objects are personified and attributed with abilities such as human beings possess.

5.2.2 Simile and Metaphor

A figure of speech, in which "one thing is likened to another... to clarify and enhance an image" (Cuddon 1999: 830), is called a Simile. While in another figure of speech, the metaphor the comparison is implicit; in a simile, the comparison is explicit. Simile is used by the coaching institutes to give emphasis to some features of the advertised service and reinforce the emotional appeal in an imaginative way (Ding 2003) using words "like" or "as". In one of the advertisements from the IIT coaching industry, students are compared to "sparks of divinity" and teaching to "a dedicated service to divinity" (ALLEN), in another ROA IIT is "like a family". On the other hand, metaphors contribute to the aesthetics of advertising and lay emphasis on the central notion indirectly. A metaphor is a comparison where an object is labeled as if it were another (Hicks, 1998, p. 63); two apparently distinct things are matched to show the resemblances or differences. Leech maintains metaphors "suggest the right kind of emotive associations for the product" (Leech 1972: 182). For example: hard work is called "the simple calculus of Karma."

In this example calculus, literally "small pebble", used for counting and calculations, also a part of modern mathematics education, devoted to the study of functions and limits, measures karma i.e. the spiritual principle concerning cause and effect, where intent and actions of a person impact the future of that person. In another example, "...every rough edge is smoothened, every small doubt is cleared..." (Bansal). The expression associates a rough edge with lack of skills of a person required to clear the IIT entrance examination.

5.2.3 Antithesis

Antithesis is the use of a striking contrast of words or opposition in a sentence for the purpose of emphasizing, for example, "come as a student, leave as a winner."

5.2.4 Hyperbole

A figure of speech containing "an exaggeration for emphasis" is called Hyperbole (Cuddon 1999: 406). Hyperboles may be used for humorous or emotional purposes (Wales 2001: 190). Hyperbole was used often by the coaching institutes to highlight the best characteristics of the services and to sensationalize the marketing points: "If you have set your aims high, if you want to *touch the stars* and *reach the sky* and more importantly - if you have the courage to say that you shall settle for

nothing less than the best, then you - the XII pass student - are perfectly suited to this course” (BANSAL).

5.2.5 Metonymy

Metonymy is defined as “a figure of speech in which the name of an attribute or a thing is substituted for the thing itself” (Cuddon 1999: 510). It is “an indexical sign: there is a directly or logically contiguous relationship between the substituted word and its referent” (Wales 2001: 252). Myers maintains it is frequently used for advertisements “where the product is associated with some person or surroundings” (Myers 1997: 127–128), e.g. “I like motion” (Motion). Here, the brand name stands for any of the courses or services provided by the institute. However, examples of Metonymy were not very common in advertising language used by the coaching institutes as compared to other figures. The analysis of advertising texts showed the use of the visuals for advertising campaigns, for example the depiction of a medal stands for the success in IIT, the images of a bottle or utensils used in labs stand for practical training etc.

5.2.6 Euphemism

Euphemisms may be used in advertising language to avoid harsh or unkind words or expressions; these may be replaced with the mild or pleasing words or expressions. This figure of speech is quite common in broadcasting and newspapers (Cuddon 1999: 292). However, the advertising campaigns used by IIT coaching institutes seemed to have avoided using euphemisms, as no examples of euphemisms were found. The language used was found to be more direct and unambiguous.

5.2.7 Repetition

A literary device, Repetition, is used by the coaching institutes wherein the same words or phrases are repeated a few times to make an idea clearer and more notable. This rhetorical device, in some of the texts examined was a repeated word, a phrase, or a full sentence, or even a poetical line to accentuate its implication in the entire text:

“...the first step in the right direction at the right time...”, and

“If you think you are bright, if you think you are capable, if you think you can make it to the top, this course is precisely for you.”

5.2.8 Elliptical Sentences

An elliptical sentence is a sentence in which some word/words are intentionally deleted as they can be assumed from the context. Mostly, for the headlines such constructions are used. The use of Ellipsis, a series of dots, is noticeable in the tagline used by the same institute as they join three power packed sentences, indicating an intentional omission of words from the text without altering its original meaning:

“Our Inspiration marks Our Identity... Gives meaning to Our Past...Brings Success for Today and Creates Vision for Tomorrow”

5.3 Proper Names

Proper names are used by the coaching institutes for advertising purposes. It is the context of usage that gives meaning to the names. For example, the coaching institutes make use of the proper names of faculty and students selected in IITs for representing the services. It was observed that proper names were used meaningfully to depict the success of the courses/ course materials etc. offered. They direct the attention of the potential customers to the institutes and their services. Moreover, the testimonies of the students with their proper names and photos are also added for further giving authenticity to the institutes’ declarations.

5.4 Emotive Expressions

The use of emotive expressions in the advertising language used by the coaching institutes is noteworthy. Emotive expressions, here, denote words that appeal to the consumers' emotions and feelings. Certain words that make the consumer to choose a particular service, instead of another, were used in the texts examined. From the data collected it was established that the coaching institutes make liberal use of emotive expressions/ persuasive language for advertising their services. They employ particular lexical items to influence the customers' choice. For instance, Vision Institute claims its programmes are unique:

"VISION IIT KOTA provides broad range of learning programs and activities that's *unique* in itself." The data collected also revealed the words "special offer/ course... make the right choice" etc. being used excessively. Here, the coaching institute uses the words "choice", "special", "right", etc. to motivate the potential customers into opting for the services offered by it. The word "special" point to the exclusivity of the services, "right choice" makes the services offered superior to other services being offered by other institutes. The services are made to look better by asserting better methods are used:

"Adopting methods that best suits our students to crack the JEE." (Bansal)

"If, for some reason or the other, you missed out on the coveted first batch of admission, don't lose heart: you can still avail the opportunity of shaping your future. There is a second course for you, precisely like the first one except that it will start in June."

The words "missed out", "the coveted first batch", "avail the opportunity" and "shaping your future" indicate the limited nature of the services offered by the institute which is to be availed by the month of June. This tendency is found in the next text:

"Success in JEE needs many things – razor sharp precision, cool temperament and flawless knowledge. At times you find that though you have an adequate background, still gaps are left, and they need to be filled before IITJEE. An intense 3 months comprehensive course aims for the same. Nothing matches a focused approach – since time is less and work is more. At this juncture, you will find that the "little push" you need to get to be an IITian is precisely supplied by this course."

Among the emotive expressions used, one observes "razor sharp precision", "cool temperament", "flawless knowledge", "focused approach", etc. The aim is to assert that course focuses on an approach and the "little push" is all that is required. Another course is introduced as:

"Come, resurrect your confidence, shape-up your ideas, strengthen your foundation and get in to the top gear of IIT-JEE preparation with a course that can easily claim to be at par with the best offered anywhere in India."

The advertisement makes use of the word "resurrect your confidence", "shape-up your ideas", "strengthen your foundation", "get in to the top gear" by simply using the service that is "at par with the best". These words appeal to the emotions of the students by establishing that they can also be the best if they opt for the course. These encouraging words in this context bring the customers closer to the institute and indeed the services offered by them. The emotive devices and expression in the following text are also worth consideration:

"If you think you are bright, if you think you are capable, if you think you can make it to the top, this course is precisely for you."

The words "bright", "capable" and "the top" charm the readers' feelings because therein lie the target of the advertiser. It is a means for capturing the interest and the attention of the potential customers to make them aware of the benefits of the course being offered. While in the next illustration the word "guide", adds to the emotive value of the text.

"...if you are desirous of becoming an Engineering professional through prestigious IITs, we take charge to guide you through it."

5.5 *Graphetic and Graphological Features of advertising language for coaching institutes:*

Investigation of the data collected shows that IIT coaching institutes make special use of punctuation marks, colors, images figures and numbers for advertising purpose.

5.5.1 Punctuation Marks in Advertising Language

In the text “Hence Proved! The best team delivered the Best results.” the punctuation used here is an exclamation mark (!). The mark is indicative of the foremost concern of the coaching institute, which is to inform the prospective customer to make the correct decision and choice by opting for the best team which has delivered the best results by the Nucleus Education - A premier institute for IIT. The graphological effects of the marks of punctuation are comprehended in the use of the question marks for example: “Why BRILLIANT?” Here, the question mark is used to encourage the customers to opt for the services offered by Brilliant because “Brilliant’s formula for success is based on the belief that there is a winner in every student waiting to be discovered.” The advertising language makes use of the question marks to emphasize the need for the potential customer to make the right choice. Another interesting use of a punctuation mark was observed in “Best Education, Genuine Results”, which makes the services offered more alluring for the prospective customers. In another advertisement, the Octothorp or the hash tag marks out the most important part of the advertising language: “# Career_making... Not_for_money_making”. The colon after each phrase in “Authenticity of RESULT: Power of ALLEN” is used for telling the students that there is advantages to be accrued by opting for services offered by the coaching institute.

The use of parenthesis was also found to give the advertising language an informal tone:

“The stimulating atmosphere of the institute, small batches (yes-we believe in quality) and one to one interaction with the instructor ensure that every rough edge is smoothened, every small doubt is cleared, that’s why most of our toppers are from this course.”

Dyer (1982: 32) maintains personal, colloquial and unceremonious language is used to attract attention of the customers.

5.5.2 Use of Color

The analysis of the data collected revealed that color was used brilliantly to enhance the aesthetics of the advertisements, with the intent to catch the attention of the prospective customers. For instance the Career Point makes use of several colors. Along with ornamental and aesthetics appeal added by the colors, it may be used to indicate the objectives of the coaching institutes. The Rao IIT website all important headings appear in red color, so does the bar chart with red lines indicate the rising number of students opting for the institute, while Turning Point institute has used only white and blue. The other part in blue and red colors simply adds beauty to the site. This is also seen in the pamphlets and newspaper advertisement for the coaching institutes.

5.5.3 Pictorial Images

Several images are used, which add to the appeal of the advertising texts and the advertisements. In the analysis of the images, it was established that they are used for enhancing the message of advertising. The image of the top ranking students, are highly significant because they make the message more authentic for the potential customers. Several other clip arts and images are used including trophies, cups, medals, logos, charts, graphs, etc. The image of an airplane was also used, to promote the nature of courses offered. The image is used to elucidate and enlighten the prospective customers about the services being offered by the institute. The image shows a plane taking off, implying the students may soar/ fly in the air merely with the training offered by the institute.

5.5.4 Figures and numbers

From the data and texts collected, it was found that figures and numbers were used mostly to specify the results of the coaching institute and provide the cost of the services offered. Allen also uses a tag line “Do you know”, followed by details of all important information and statistics such as the year when the institute was set up, the ranking of students etc.

6. Conclusions

1. Advertising language used by the IIT Coaching institutes is an important part of their marketing campaign for attracting students as potential customers from all over India. As obvious from the above discussion, the advertising language is attractive, persuasive and convincing, and replete with short catchy phrases related to the institutes as brands. It is aimed at defining, presenting and distinguishing the main features of the institutes as a brand in the market.
2. The advertising language is used by the coaching institutes for informational purpose. It is a means of communication between the coaching institutes and the targets, the students preparing for IIT examinations. The linguistic characteristics promote awareness about the institutes, provide information to the students and their parents, expedites the process of decision making and persuades the students, the consumers that one coaching institute is superior to the other.
3. The linguistic analysis of the selected texts confirmed that the several techniques were used in commercial advertising language such as rhyme, alliteration etc. to aid the transmission of information and to make the text impressive, while rhythm, consonance and onomatopoeia were used sparingly. The analysis of advertising texts displayed phonological techniques, such as alliteration was used, while euphemism was prominent by its absence.
4. The advertising language used added to the texts” emotive value. The advertising language also revealed frequent use of metaphors, personifications, and hyperboles, while the use of apostrophe and metonymy was scarce.
5. From the examination of lexical characteristics, it becomes evident that the coaching institutes make use of expressions, words and phrases with the intent to add exquisiteness and attractiveness which will increase publicizing and advertising value of the texts, use names to add authenticity to the services they offer and use of emotive expressions to convince the customers for patronizing the services offered.
6. To sum up, the coaching institutes frequently use an assortment of different methods of expression and sound techniques, which make the advertising texts and messages memorable. They attract the attention of the prospective customers towards the commercial advertisement.

6.1 Limitations

As the small amount of data used in this paper, the method adopted for the analysis is limited. Firstly, there are valuable areas of advertising discourse which is not covered in this paper. The examples are also limited and this paper uses only a small amount of data taken from advertising language used by IIT coaching institutes from Kota, Rajasthan. Given the limitations of the material, the analysis section can only serve for qualitative purposes and the results cannot be generalized. The analysis of the materials aims to identify and examine linguistic features presented in the selected texts.

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The Magic of the Generic: A Critique of the Studies on Generic Sentences

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ABSTRACT

Generic sentences (eg. Birds fly or Cows have four legs) have always posed a challenge to the classical calculi of logical semantics as they do violate truth conditions in the sense that they allow exceptions. A generic cannot be rendered flawed in spite of the fact that there are birds like emu and ostrich who do not fly and there are cows who do not have all the four legs. Hence it is interesting to enquire as in how the generics are computed in human mind. Linguists of various hues have enquired into the semantics of generics. This paper presents a critique of the major theoretical proposals put forth by linguists on the nature of these generics. This article refrains from providing a conclusive answer to the question but provides cues about the salient issues concerning the theorization of the semantics of generic sentences.

1. Introducing Generics

The study of generic sentences entails much more than the linguistic study of a certain type of sentence. Generic statements embody folk theories and common sense notions construed by social or experiential means. On one hand they mirror the nuanced relationship between knowledge and the world while on the other they deal with the manufacturing of consent and rejection, inclusion and exclusion across societies and ideologies. But a linguist has his own reasons of studying generics.

Well then, what are generics? The generic sentence loosely refers to a statement on the general attributes of a kind or type that is believed to be true of all the typical members of that kind (eg. 'Birds fly', 'Cows have four legs', 'Germans are good musicians' etc.). These sentences, although seemingly innocent, put forth a mighty challenge before semanticists. Although these generics may seem acceptable to many of us, we wonder how to account for their truth-values precisely because generics allow exceptions and at times the crude definition proposed above would fall flat. When we say, 'Mosquitoes spread malaria' or even 'Birds lay eggs' we do not mean to claim that all the typical mosquitoes spread Malaria or the typical birds must lay eggs. Hence a generic cannot be ranked FALSE on the basis of its violation of the TRUTH.

Speaking strictly from a linguistic point of view, it is difficult to define the generic for more than one reason. The difficulties will gradually unfold as we navigate through the meanders of theoretical explanations of genericity. As it is aptly put by Krifka et al (1995), genericity has been studied by linguists and philosophers as two different but often overlapping phenomena: The kind-referring NP and the Generic Sentence. Although this paper is chiefly concerned with the latter, an overture on generics remains incomplete without a detailed account of related problematics, especially, the ones that indeed have some important role to play in the discussion on the issue at stake.

C. H. Langford (1949) in his article *The Institutional Use of 'The'* makes a clear distinction between an individual concept (an elephant) and its kind (the Elephant). He argues that while an elephant or a bird hints at an individual entity, the 'The' we are dealing with institutionalizes these concepts. Drawing strength from the linguistic practice of 'The' preceding names of institutions (The Statesman for instance), Langford's thesis seeks to make clear demarcation between the properties of an individual element and that of the 'institution' or, in our terms, the kind. In an attempt to define the relationship between the individual and the kind, Langford resorts to the notions of intrinsic and extrinsic relational properties. In a set of elements (eg. the Elephant) if the property K is shared by all the individual elements, then the property should be defined as the intrinsic property of that set (read kind) or else the property is extrinsic. In the set of all real numbers, for instance, if the property of being a real number is marked by R then R is the intrinsic property of the set. Now, in the same set, there are numbers that are multiples of 2 and the property of being a multiple of two may be named M. This M is intrinsic to those multiples but not an intrinsic property of the whole set. This M is an extrinsic property. What Wilfrid Sellars names 'distributive singular' (Sellars 1963) does not put Langford in trouble in any substantial way. Sellars shows that a reference to kind does not necessarily call for an institutional 'The'. Sentences with distributive singular subjects, such as 'Man is mortal', fare quite well without Langford's determiner and may still be institutionalised. These singulars are distributive as although they refer to a 'one' (a particular kind) they may be reduced to 'manys' (a kind includes members sharing similar properties). Speculations on whether or not this is immediately reminiscent of Badiou's concern about 'one' as 'count-as-one' (Badiou 2005) should be kept at bay for the time being. But what must be stated in clear terms is that Langford's thesis was less concerned about the determiner than the dichotomy of reference to a kind and a definite entity. He certainly proposed that 'The' institutionalizes instances/ individuals but was far from concluding that it was the only way. The 'distributive singular' expands Langford's horizon rather than undoing it. Sellars (1963) marks his distinction most prominent by introducing the idea of 'abstract entities' or distributive entities. The claim that kinds are sets of instances or mere institutionalization of real 'pieces' is refuted. Let us consider the following sentences cited in Sellars' article as foundations on which his argument stands:

- (1) The lion is an abstract individual.
- (2) The lion is a kind.

Sellars asks, do we need to imagine these 'The lion's as having any particular attribute that designates an individual lion? Do we even consider them as a generic bundle of attributes? In his own words:

'It is, I take it, clear that in all of these statements the expression 'lion' is being used not to refer to lions, but to refer or to be a component of an expression which refers to an abstract entity. As a crude sizing up of the situation we might say that 'lion' is being mentioned rather than used.' (pp. 25, Abstract Entity)

This vacuous mention, i.e. the occurrence of the word without the load of the object it denotes or even the attributes associated with it, is possible because the word can be abstracted away from the object (or even the class of objects) signified. An appraisal of Sellars would challenge Langford's proposal about the relational properties for obvious reasons. An 'abstract entity' does not require to bank on the intrinsic properties of instances for its being and hence the determiner (or any other linguistic unit) occurring with them does not play a crucial role in deciding its referent (it does not have any). Not only Langford but the entire idea of linguistic-types finds a stumble-block here.

But the very notion of abstract entities has faced fierce criticism from philosophers. What for Locke (1690/1999) is the abstract idea of an instance is merely a hoax for Berkley (1710/2003). The notion of an entity cannot completely be devoid of all attributes, and in case it is, there is hardly any tangible reason to consider the notion as that of an entity. This is exactly the problem with the above examples. They are metalinguistic and as linguistic units these 'The lion's themselves are objects of

reference. Here they do not refer to an entity simply because they are stripped of their signified and if they signify a lion *realis*, they cannot avoid evoking the notions of a shape, a mane, a shapely and strong body etc. It would be naïve then to claim that the notion is abstract (e.g. ‘The lion is a species’ we immediately brings to our mind a frame of reference in which the lion’s distinction from other species must be profiled).

We would not take that metaphysical course as it might drift us too far away to drive ashore timely. It would rather be wise to closely follow the turns and twists in the works of our immediate concern.

John Bacon’s (1973) *Do Generic Descriptions Denote?* sets the stage for ‘reference to kinds’ to meet the ‘generic sentence’. He addresses both the issues dealt with by Langford and Sellars but his concerns are more fundamental. He questions the very possibility of the ‘namehood’ of generic descriptions. I would request special attention to the phrase ‘generic descriptions’. It must be noted that in spite of dealing chiefly with the kind-referring NP, Bacon’s canvas is larger than that. His question could be rephrased as ‘Does a generic statement hint at the properties of an entity at all?’ This extension is possible because Bacon, in his essay, sheds light on the way we deal with genericity at large in a language.

Bacon distinguishes the generic ‘The’ from, what he calls, the indicial ‘The’. In ‘The officers are well-paid’ we find the former and the latter is instantiated in ‘The officers are rummaging the department for an age old file’. He calls generic ‘The’s of the former kind, Generic2 ‘The’ (Generic1 being those which appear in strictly ‘institutionalized’ singular NPs). It is apparent that the distinction between the generic and the indicial ‘The’ cannot be found in the nature of these NPs. One must wonder at this stage whether the generic cue is housed in the sentence itself (and not in the NP). But to submit to such a claim right away would amount to imprudence. An abrupt conclusion, even if true, can not find its legitimacy in its accuracy. Let us read Bacon a little more closely. We shall now engage with his Generic2 at large (i.e. generic descriptions which do not submit to Langford’s institutional ‘The’). Our purpose will be lost if we do not delve into Bacon’s proposals about the property of denotation of mass nouns and plurals.

Mass nouns and plural common nouns differ from names along four linguistic features as illustrated by Bacon:

- (a) Mass nouns and plural common nouns can be quantified (e.g. Some holy water was sprinkled on Sajjad’s body)
- (b) Mass nouns and plural common nouns can be determined by ‘The’ (e.g. The milk spilled)
- (c) Mass nouns and plural common nouns can act as predicative nominatives (e.g. This precious metal is gold). Bacon also explains that there is a difference between the way singular common nouns are quantified as predicatives (‘is a’) and the mass nouns or plural common nouns are quantified while assuming the same role (‘is’).
- (d) Mass nouns and plural common nouns can be quantified by what Bacon names ‘pseudo modal auxiliaries’ and ‘pseudo temporal adverbs’

Now (d) calls for further explanation. Bacon opines that modal auxiliaries and temporal adverbs, when they occur in sentences with subjects that name, manifest the actual properties of modality and temporality. In sentences with mass noun or common noun subjects they play ‘pseudo’ roles. This may be debated at a grammatical level but we better not take too much on our plate. More significantly, Bacon finds a kind of semantic plurality, if we may call it so, in the mass nouns. He explains that a mass noun may be read as the plural of the singular units of the mass. WATER is basically the plural of each water molecule. Following his argument, it would perhaps be proper to consider a mass not as a set of elements but as a number of them. Even for abstract nouns he proposes an almost similar semantic scheme. But Bacon finds it difficult to accommodate some of his Generic2 NPs in this house of plurality (e.g. “Bromine is a halogen” shows namehood and genericity rolled into one NP or even

‘The tiger is a species’, although is supposed to have a generic interpretation, clearly names a species). Hence he concludes,

“...generic2 Noun Phrases do not, in their basic use, denote though upon abstraction they can be and sometimes are made to do so.”

The conclusion is seemingly clumsy and Bacon himself is aware of it.

“I concede that this explanation compromises the canon of univocal interpretation somewhat, but at least it comes close.”

A Unified Analysis of English Bare Plural (Carlson 1977) attempts to get rid of genericity of this conundrum. Bacon’s baton is carried forward by Carlson by locating the moot point in the sentential scheme. His argument is tied to that of Bacon in a rather nuanced way. He rejects the idea of the null quantifier before English bare plurals (ϕ) to be the plural of the indefinite singular article *a* and asserts that genericity calls for a unified study of NPs, syntax and semantics. In fact, refuting Bacon, Carlson claims that the ϕ NPs are proper nouns (names) of kinds (i.e. they do denote). But the seed of such a refutation was sown by Bacon himself. His fumbling with the indicial ‘The’, generic2 NPs had already given Carlson enough reason to be skeptical of his hypothesis. He distinguishes the singular indefinite and the bare plural significantly along Opacity. Drawing strength from Quine (1960)¹, Carlson proposes that indefinite singulars are open to opaque-transparent reading while ϕ NPs receive only the opaque interpretation. Let us consider the following sentences:

(1) She wants to consult a linguist.

(2) She wants to consult linguists.

As Carlson pointed out, ‘a linguist’ in (1) can be interpreted both as transparent and as opaque. One may consider the differences in the scopes of these quantifiers (i.e. of ‘a(n)’ & ϕ) a natural consequence of their opacity status. The ambiguous indefinite singular NP can distribute the scope of the quantifier equally among both the transparent and the opaque references which seems difficult for the plural null quantifier since it receives only one referential interpretation. We shall touch upon the argument put forth by Carlson on this but perhaps a prolonged discussion would tantamount to unnecessary digression. Let us examine (3) and (4) :

(3) A singer is on the stage and a singer is not on the stage.

(4) Singers are on the stage and singers are not on the stage.

In its opaque reading (3) would be semantically well-formed since it is perfectly possible for one singer to be on the stage while another is elsewhere but (4) holds only a contradictory reading. Apparently the existential quantifier has a wider scope than the negative in (3) but the ϕ in (4) does not enjoy that liberty. Hence (4) cannot reap the benefit of ambiguity. Carlson also shows how along the *differential scope phenomena* and *anaphoric processes* one may find clear distinction between the indefinite singular and the bare plural NPs of English. Furthering the endeavor he even shows how the bare plural is different from directly kind referring ones (e.g. mankind, humanity etc.). The latter may

¹ Before we rephrase the proposal in a clearer fashion we must briefly revisit the opacity phenomenon introduced by Quine in his magnum opus *Word and Object*. In his famous example

‘Tully is a Roman’ is trochaic.

Tully is the same person as Cicero. But Cicero qua Cicero (i.e. a word with three syllables) cannot substitute Tully here. Hence the referential relation between Tully and Cicero may be termed opaque here. But in ‘I think Tully was a Roman’, if I am aware that Tully and Cicero are co-referential then, the reference is transparent.

never possibly refer to individual entities and hence is not caught in the opacity phenomena manifest in bare plural NPs.

But, in a while, Carlson comes up with cases where bare plurals can only have generic reading and shows that the null quantifier actually has an existential reading which, however, does not owe its origin to the NP and it would not naturally follow from this that they are not ambiguous. But this ambiguity is systematic. Each of these interpretations is restricted to certain constructions. It is possible, Carlson claims, to clearly delineate the contexts of the occurrence of the generic null quantifier and the existential null quantifier. Finally Carlson situates genericity in the individual-level predicates (Carlson 1977, Chierchia 1998). Genericity finds itself in the system of predication rather than in nouns and determiners of any kind.

This work of Carlson is seminal not merely because it frees genericity from the clutches of NPs but in a sense it opens up the possibility of genericity being studied as predication generalization. In his *Reference to Kind in English* (henceforth Carlson 1980) Carlson argues that even if we consider the bare plural as a set of properties, we end up leaving too much unexplained.

‘...perhaps the most serious (problem) is that if this is simply a set of properties, there is no way to state any equivalence relations that would have the effect of eliminating scope ambiguities.’ (p.99, Carlson 1980)

The neocarlsonian’s attempts of resolving the issue will soon be taken on board. But before we seek to explore type-shifting as the last resort one feels tempted to narrate how Carlson seems to echo Lawler (1972, 1973) and Dahl (1975) in claiming that genericity is predication. In his article *Generic to a Fault* Lawler deals thoroughly with generic sentences of various kinds and succinctly rejects the idea of genericity being a phrasal phenomenon by proposing to study the ‘occupational’ generics which, in his opinion, are ‘derived from the habitual form’. By ‘habitual’ we mean sentences that talk about the regularity of an action of the clausal subject (Krifka et al 1995). A few examples of such ‘occupational’ generics go as follows:

(5) He runs a grocery.

(6) She drives a cart.

By introducing this variety of generic, Lawler foregrounds the role of predication in the study of generics and even paves the way for contemporary studies in generics. Dahl, on the other hand, brings the ‘generic tense’ (Dahl 1975) in the game and hence again he pitches for sentential genericity. But before explaining his views on the generic tense, it would be wise to take another important theoretical observation on board which might serve our purpose in the long run. Dahl makes a distinction between the *accidental* and the *nomic* generic. The generic in (7) can be interpreted both ways.

(7) Cows graze on grass.

Following Dahl, the statement, if interpreted as an accidental generic, would mean that cows in this actual world eat grass but in other possible worlds they may behave differently. But this conditionality (as will be explained in 1.2) may apply on any generic chosen randomly. It is possible to claim that man is mortal only in the actual world and not in other possible worlds. So we shall engage with the nomic generics.

Dahl proposes that these nomic generics are of two kinds – descriptive and normative. Descriptive generics (the ones about physical attributes, material qualities etc) hold in ‘all physically possible worlds’ while the normative ones (i.e. generics about values, social norms etc) hold in ‘all morally perfect worlds’. This pragmatic issue is something that Carlson does not take up seriously. But both

Dahl (1975) and Carlson (1977 & 1980) strengthen the thought that genericity of the generic lies in the sentence and it cannot be found in words or NPs. We shall briefly discuss the issue of ‘generic tense’ before we move on to the next section. Dahl, by ‘generic tense’, hints at the habitual aspect but as Lawler, in the aforementioned article, has clearly shown, this habitual aspect may appear in episodic sentences as well.

Keeping in mind this problem of locating genericity in a sentence, contemporary studies in genericity takes it for granted that there is an (for most semanticists, VP internal) abstract operator GEN (Krifka et al 1995). Studying the nature of GEN appears to be central to the study of genericity and certainly of this paper.

2. GEN: The Nature and the Definition

The question asked at the very beginning of the last section still remains unanswered and now that we are acquainted with the idea of genericity, it is quite clear that to put forth an answer we shall have to engage with Gen. The definition of a generic sentence is contingent on the definition of this Gen.

Different scholars have come up with different proposals. Some have even defined Gen in strictly cultural and pragmatic terms instead of looking at it from a syntactic-semantic perspective.

The attempt to establish Gen as a universal (or quasi-universal) quantifier has its problems for obvious reasons. It may hold for sentences such as 8 & 9,

(8) Men are mortal.

(9) Snow is white.

8 & 9 can be interpreted as 8a & 9a respectively:

8a. $\forall x [[M(x)] \rightarrow \text{Mortal}(x)]$

9a. $\forall x [[S(x)] \rightarrow \text{White}(x)]$

But for 10, a similar interpretation is unlikely.

(10) Birds lay eggs.

This clearly designates only the female fertile birds and hence is closer to an existential proposition than 8 & 9. Kai von Fintel (1997) defines Gen as an existential quantifier. He argues that certain sentences with ‘only’ show an underlying genericity and since ‘only’ plays this role it is perfectly possible for generics to assume an existential interpretation. With 10 in mind, the possibility cannot be ruled out as 10 may indeed be interpreted as 11.

(11) $\exists x [[B(x)] \& L(x,E)]$

But a unified theory of the generic must account for 8, 9 and 10 in a unified manner. Hence theoretically it is difficult to accept Gen either as a universal or an existential quantifier. Declerck finds us a middle path in his *The Origins of Genericity* (1991). He applies a restriction on the universal

quantifier. There are two faces to his approach. On one hand he accepts that Gen, unlike an existential operator, has a law-like interpretation and on the other he refutes the claim that Gen can behave like a universal operator given its flexible truth value. The restrictor he introduces accounts for the conditionality of generics. For instance, he would read 10 as ‘If x is a bird and x is fertile and x is female then x lays eggs’:

$$(12) \quad \forall x [[B(x) \ \& \ R(x)] \rightarrow x \text{ lays eggs}]$$

In 12, it is not enough for all the values of x to be ‘Bird’ but it must also satisfy the restrictor R to meet the requirements of Gen. But with this approach we may declare any generic sentence as true given certain conditions. There are generics that under no condition may be accepted as true. 13 cannot be accepted as true even if you find all the Muslims you know to have ‘terror-links’ since an act of violence is not a prerequisite laid down by Islam for the ones who accept it as a religion. The identity of being a Muslim has clearly nothing to do with it.

$$(13) \quad \text{Muslims are terrorists.}$$

But Declerck’s (1991) formula accommodates even 13 yielding a dangerous conclusion:

$$(14) \quad \forall x [[M(x) \ \& \ R(x)] \rightarrow T(x)]$$

Fine (1985) follows the footsteps of Sellars and advocates the theory of the arbitrary objects. But He also admits that an arbitrary NP (of a generic nature) may occur only as an argument of a generic predicate. Even otherwise, as Pelletier and Asher (1997) rightly pointed out, the theory of arbitrary object has encountered too many objections to be considered seriously. Locke’s (1690/1999) proposal about the ‘arbitrary object’ faces vehement criticism from Berkley (1710/2003).

Putnam (1975) and Scribner (1977) appeal to stereotypicality and claims Gen to express knowledge stereotypes. Putnam’s work, *The Meaning of ‘Meaning’*, opens with a critique of the transformational generative school of linguistics led by none less than Professor Noam Chomsky. He opines (and he is quite apt at that) that the philosopher’s concern about meaning has been put on the back burner with the rise of the Transformational Generative Grammar. But that is marginal to the business we are doing with his proposal. Putnam’s work is significant in the study of genericity because of his postulation about the disjunction of intention from extension. According to his theory meaning is a ‘psychological state’ and when one concludes ‘ X is Y ’ basically this relation of sameness is purely based on the speaker’s ways of making meanings and must be immune to the truth-value of the statement. He proposes that this relation is a ‘theoretical relation’. This theory, it goes without saying, is basically a folk-theory.

Taking cue from Putnam’s essay, Scribner (1977) described Gen as stereotypes. She proposed that on empirical issues people respond on the basis of their everyday experiences i.e. if we have a group of people who have never seen birds flying (e.g. some random set of people brought up only with penguins and emus around) would not accept ‘Birds fly’ as true. Hence in such cases the generic understanding depends overtly on instances present in one’s experience. What is counterfactual is held to be false without further speculation. But the same set of people when asked to draw conclusions

based on verbal premises yield correct responses. It is, then, counterintuitive to doubt their logical competence.

Scribner shows that the generic is born out of human experiences grounded in a cultural context.

Although not identical, we find a similar opinion in Lakoff's (1987) *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* where Lakoff illustrates how humankind is tempted to map physical experiences onto abstract theories. What Lakoff calls the Idealised Cognitive Model (ICM) is far more refined than Scribner's theory about experiencing 'facts' but they meet in claiming knowledge to be purely relative. Lakoff declares in his work that what we consider true theories or established truths are merely a set of opinions. Lakoff's is an advanced version of Eleanor Rosch's theory of prototype (Rosch 1978).

Rosch et al (1976) in *Basic Objects and Natural Categories* note,

'The world is structured because real-world attributes do not occur independently of each other. Creatures with feathers are more likely also to have wings than creatures with fur, and objects with the visual appearance of chairs are more likely to have functional sit-on-ability than objects with the appearance of cats. That is, combinations of attributes of real objects do not occur uniformly. Some pairs, triples, or n-tuples are quite probable, appearing in combination sometimes with one, sometimes another attribute; others are rare; others logically cannot or empirically do not occur.'

As it is apparent in the above excerpt, a prototype is assumed to be an object that is deemed to be most prominently representing a class of objects or a category. There are certain attributes that are considered to be found more often in a member of a given category than others. These attributes together constitute the conceptual prototypes that designate the concerned category. Linguists have shown (Krifka et al 1995, Pelletier and Asher 1997) that if we adopt an operator TYP then a prototype theoretical reading of a sentence like 15 would look like 16.

(15) Humans are intelligent.

(16) $\forall x$ [[TYP (human) (x)] \rightarrow x is intelligent]

Linguists (Pelletier and Asher 1997) often associate the idea of a prototype with the idea of an abstract entity already discussed above and hence reject it as a revival of an already discredited theory. But scholars like Barth (1974, p. 200) have clearly stated that the 'arbitrary object' and the prototype must not be treated as identical. A prototypical object is the ordinary one that is taken to be a typical instance of a given class of objects. One does not need to abstract it away from reality at all. But this notion of prototypicality is inconsistent with the intuitive and rational basis of theorising generics. How to talk about generics like 14 under the auspices of the prototype theory? It certainly does not show a structured natural connect between two 'ordinary' objects.

Lakoff resolves this issue by dint of ICM. He states that humankind maps experiences garnered from the physical world onto the abstract thought. Hence cognition is metaphoric in nature. The claim finds support in the overt presence of conceptual metaphors in the languages of the world.

However, at least a large number of generics are undoubtedly intentional in nature. If we concede that generics have extensional meanings then it is perhaps difficult to account for the 'modal component' (Eckardt 2000) found in 17:

(17) Rose handles mail from Antarctica. (Eckardt 2000, p.1)

The sentence holds true even if Rose has never received one but holds an office that is supposed to maintain correspondence with Antarctica. Such modal intentionals certainly lack an extension and still are deemed valid generics. Similarly, an extensional theory such as the one inundated above fails to account for purely normative statements like 18:

(18) Stealing is unethical.

Eckardt's proposal calls for serious attention. But as it strongly responds to a theory awaiting mention, it would be wise to postpone a detailed theoretical discussion on the same. But a quick mention of Eckardt's proposal about the 'normal' and the 'ideal' generics might help us delve a little deeper into 13, 16, 17 and their likes (18 according to Dahl is a normative generic and belongs to a distinct category). Eckardt spells out the features of the normal and the ideal generics in the following way:

- Normal generics are those that find evidential support in the 'normal course of events' (i.e. are true on most counts given a normal situation). But ideal generics, although rare, are held to be true in spite of their unnormal nature.
- Normal generics may be termed false by producing a large number of counterexamples. Ideal ones are immune to exceptions.
- Many properties that we find associated with normal entities do not constitute a generic theory because they are not found in the ideal.

13 can be immediately rejected because as a normal generic it actually faces the challenge of getting bulldozed by counterexamples and even as an ideal one it does not excel as even the worst of Islamophobics would not consider a Muslim's being a terrorist an ideal situation. 17, on the other hand, is more of an ideal intentional than otherwise where Rose must ideally be receiving letters from Antarctica. But this reading is too notional and vague at this stage to be developed further. What requires to be mentioned is that Eckardt seeks to propose that the normal and the ideal generics are quantified differently. Gen is further classified as (as we may put it) Genn and Geni.

Some of the most popular approaches towards analysing the Gen resort to the possible world semantics. Modality is central to such possible world approaches. The idea may be further elaborated once we take the difference between must and may for serious consideration. But before formalising the modal conditional approach (Delgrande 1987, Asher and Moreau 1991 etc) we attempt to draw the similarities between the modal conditionals and generics intuitively. Let us consider 19 and 20:

(19) Cows have four legs

(20) If it is a cow, it has four legs.

19, evidently, can be rephrased as 20 without any serious change in meaning (debates about whether pragmatically the claim is viable or not will be kept in abeyance for methodological reasons). Pelletier and Asher (1997) draws attention also to the 'restrictive when-clauses'. Referring back to Declerck, we may quite safely conclude that these modal conditions function quite well as restrictions on generics.

These conditions (e.g. the if-clause in 20) constitute the modal base for the generic (Krifka et al 1995). Put simply, 20 would mean that in a possible world where x is a cow, x has four legs. How does this possible world actually look?

We shall resort to Krifka et al (1995) (the quotation is almost verbatim with a few minor changes in notations)

Must P is true in the world w with respect to a modal base B_w and an ordering source \leq_w viz. ‘at least as normal as’ under the following condition:

For all worlds w' in B_w there is at least a w'' in B_w such that $w'' \leq_w w'$, and for every other world $w''' \leq_w w''$, P is true in w'''

May P is true with respect to B_w and \leq_w iff it is not the case that with respect to $B_w \leq_w$ **must-not-P** is true in w .

Now we know that the possible worlds where 19 and 20 hold true are at least as normal as our own. Given that, 19 may be rephrased as:

(21) [Gen (x,y) [C(x), FL (y) & Have (x,y)]]

21 is true in w relative to B_w and \leq_w iff for every x and every w' that belongs to B_w such that ‘ x is a cow’ is true in w' there exists a w'' such that $w'' \leq_w w$ and for every world $w''' \leq_w w''$, $\exists y$ [FL(y) & x has y] is true in w'''

21 makes a clear assumption about the possible worlds at stake but as is quite cogent to ask, what is ‘normal’ about these most normal possible worlds? How to define the normal here? A normal world which is ‘at least as normal as’ our own must also have physically impaired cows. Pelletier and Asher present a similar criticism. It also falls prey to Eckardt’s criticism of the ‘Best Worlds Hypothesis’. The modal conditional approach falls flat when we attempt to look into cases such as 10 as in no normal world all typical birds are supposed to lay eggs. Eckardt (2000) calls all $(w' | w' \approx w)$ the Dispositional Orbit of w and cautions against confusing $*$ the functor used by Asher and Morreau (1991) with \approx as the former looks for a world better (more normal) than ours whereas the latter enables accessibility between two equally normal worlds (equivalent worlds to be more precise). But even then the generic riddle remains unresolved. More on this will follow after we briefly discuss the proposal of treating generics as defaults.

Here, unlike Pelletier and Asher, I will consistently use the word *unnormal* for ‘abnormal’ as the latter has acquired a strongly negative connotation in public discourse. The deviations from a norm (i.e. the non-typical) do not necessarily deserve a pejorative epithet.

With recourse to non-monotonic reasoning, Pelletier and Asher shows that generics basically instantiate default reasoning. This approach refrains from making efforts to assign a truth-value to a generic sentence. It is actually a theory of, as the word ‘reasoning’ suggests, inference. But what is the nature of such inferences? What does the formalism for default reasoning look like?

Here we shall halt for a minute to take a quick sweep through some basic notions pivotal to formal logic viz *monotonicity* and *non-monotonicity* (Partee Meulen & Wall 1987). If Ψ states a relation between δ and β in the universe υ then the condition of monotonicity will be defined as follows:

If $\Psi \upsilon \delta \beta$ and $\beta \subseteq \beta'$ then $\Psi \upsilon \delta \beta'$

The condition above holds in various syllogistic operations. If all cows are mammals and mammals bear babies then all cows bear babies since cows (β) are a subset of mammals (β'). But Ψ fails to map δ to any α such that $\beta^c \ni \alpha$ since that does not feature in the subset of β . Why it is

difficult to talk about genericity under the auspices of monotonic logic is immediately visible. The unnormal sticks out in the crowd.

On the other hand non-monotonic logic refrains from making deterministic claims such as the above. It overtly advocates for *defeasible reasoning* (Brewka 2012; Pelletier and Asher 1997 etc) i.e. the knowledge available helps the knower to arrive at a plausible conclusion which may be retracted if adequate counterexamples are found.

This may further be illustrated with the help of the PENGUIN PRINCIPLE put forth by Pelletier and Asher:

Birds fly	Gen (x) (B; F)
Penguins do not fly	Gen (x) (B; ¬F)
Penguins are birds	$\forall x (P \rightarrow B)$
Tweety is a penguin	P (T)
Hence,	
Tweety does not fly	¬F (T)

Apparently, Tweety's case is not consistent with the premise we began with but is quite in keeping with the second premise about penguins. Hence it is also consistent with the third and fourth premises laid down above. So the generalisation that might have prompted a wrong conclusion about Tweety's fly-ability is retracted without any retraction of the premises. Each of the premises, again, can be defined as a defeasible inference, i.e. an ad-hoc conclusion that may be retracted given counterexamples. The theory of default reasoning, beyond doubt, is perhaps the most robust theory so far proposed in the domain of genericity.

This thesis concludes that no generic is irrevocable in case exceptions are available (to one's knowledge).

Now, what happens to what Eckardt calls the *ideal generic*? Since they constitute a sizeable chunk of generic sentences, a theory of generics may not remain oblivious of them. It also must be noted that these cases cannot be explained by a Penguin Principle since an overwhelming number of counterexamples to 22 and 23 are already extant.

(22) Mosquitoes spread malaria. (Leslie 2008)

(23) Ticks carry Lyme disease. (Leslie 2013)

It has been shown (Leslie 2013) that dangerous properties manifest in a section of a certain kind is generally attributed to the kind as a whole. As Lyme disease is not carried by any other species, ticks are held to be responsible for it all. More evidential support may be furnished in time to come but it would be wise to consider another interesting theory awaiting mention.

Although the theory of default generalisation unequivocally champions content rich computation of generics (Leslie 2013), there is another approach that has gained prominence, especially, in the works of Krifka (2004) and Chierchia (1998) that seeks to uphold the formal logical nature of Gen following Montague Grammar.

Type-shifting was proposed by Montague as a way to establish correspondence between syntactic categories and semantic properties. Barbara Partee (1987) retains the basic principle of Montague grammar of mapping the categories onto types. But she proposes three basic types of NP – referential $\langle e \rangle$, predicative $\langle e, t \rangle$ and quantificational $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$. Here 'e' stands for entity and 't' for truth value. Chierchia (1998), while applying type shifting to the understanding of the generic (kind-referring to be precise) NPs, states:

'...it is clear what is at stake here. At stake is how arguments, other than very simple

ones like John, are fed into the verb. It is also at stake how flexible and how variable across languages the mapping is between nominal categories and their meaning (namely, the issue of semantic variation).’ (p. 344 Chierchia 1998)

Krifka (2004) deals with quite a similar concern but, unlike Chierchia, denies the necessity of type-shifting for the translation of properties into kinds. Chierchia seeks to draw a join atomic semilattice with (DP, \leq) . The ‘ \leq ’ here stands for a ‘part of’ or ‘subgroup of’ relation. The function of *pluralisation of atoms* (plurality of DOG viz. DOGS) PL is defined as

$$PL(F) = \lambda x [-F(x) \wedge \forall y[y \leq x \wedge At(y) \rightarrow F(y)]]$$

The interpretation is clearly existential in nature. Chierchia also uses the iota operator borrowed from Frege-Russel to designate the largest generalisation of X, a variable for atoms. Hence ι DOGS would mean the largest plurality of dogs in the given semilattice and ι DOG will designate the largest (i.e. the maximal entity in the situation defined) individual atom. Iota is seen as the semantic type of the definite determiner. Now he proposes that a kind can be formed out of the largest member of its extension. If there is a property P then by means of the ‘down’ function it may be translated into a kind and a kind K can also be translated into a property by the ‘up’ function. The technical details of type-shifting may be discussed later if required. At present, without digressing away from the moot issue, let us see how Chierchia seeks to champion Carlson’s proposal in a refined manner:

‘Note that if P is a singular property (i.e., a property true of just singularities), $\square \square P_w$ will necessarily be a singular individual (when defined). Since kinds, as understood here, cannot have a singular instance in every world, ‘down’ (*the symbol for the down operator has been replaced by the word here*) will not be defined for singular properties. It will only be defined for plural ones.’ (p.350) (The italics within the parenthesis are worded by me)

Both Chierchia and Krifka tend to argue that bare NPs are properties and quite in keeping with Partee, both the scholars agree that type-shifting may not occur freely. On the same line with Carlson they also propose that there is a phonologically null Gen that provides linguistic utterances a generic reading.

But more importantly they laid down what Cohen (2007) calls a ‘Blocking Principle’. If a language shows overt means of reference to kind or, in their terminology, to settle type mismatch then type-shifting should not take place. This ‘Blocking Principle’ appears almost redundant at the very first sight as it is indeed difficult to find any overt Gen in any of the world languages hitherto known and in case it is found in one, much of such theories might get blocked. Why then is it so important? This principle actually makes us revisit the correspondence between grammatical forms and genericity in a finer way than Carlson’s. At the same time, this theory refrains from asking why such linguistic instantiation of genericity must be restricted to NPs. Bare plurals in English are declared to be the default form of reference to kinds but the VP-internal Gen remains intact. Hence it is difficult to use type-shifting to account for the content rich genericity.

On the other hand, Gen is a stumble-block for the theory of default reasoning. That genericity is propositional in nature has already been substantiated. Important evidence in favour of this claim is the focus-sensitivity of generics (Krifka 1995a). Krifka shows that 24 can be interpreted in three different ways (24a,b,c):

(24) Priests redeem the sinner.

24a. **Priests** redeem the sinner.

24b. Priests redeem the **sinner**.

24c. Priests **redeem** the sinner.

Here the words in bold font are the foci of the sentences concerned. Gen takes scope over ‘Priests’ (in the sense that it is a generic on Christ’s generosity) in 24b, ‘sinner’ in 24a and on both ‘Priests’ and ‘sinner’ in 24c. In this Gen stands at the confluence of syntax and pragmatics and hence must receive a propositional interpretation. So should defaults. But the proponents of this theory must also ask if there is any overt linguistic form in which such defaults are instantiated. It is counterintuitive to maintain that although an abstract quantifier Gen is housed in the VP still generics must not give in to monotonicity since they are defaults. Again, if one finds an overt expression that holds the genericity of the sentence then type-shifting gets automatically blocked.

Leslie (2013) claims that there are generic forms available in natural languages. She also claims that those are the most unmarked forms. Citing several experiments (Baldwin, Markman & Melartin, 1993; Graham, Kilbreath & Welder, 2004) Leslie argues since infants in the very first year of their life acquire the ability to generalise or in her words to form ‘general judgments’, it is evident that there must be a cognitive mechanism that helps them in generic categorisation. The output of this system is the *cognitively fundamental generalisations*. Language does, in her view, provide ways and means of voicing such generalisations:

‘An interesting question, then, is whether language later provides us with a way of giving voice to these generalizations that we have been making all along. It is not guaranteed that natural language must provide us with such a vehicle, but it is reasonable to suppose it might (and would be quite surprising if it did not). We can thus ask the question: of the many ways we have of linguistically expressing generalizations, which form articulates our cognitively fundamental generalizations?’ (p.6, Leslie 2013)

She responds to this herself: ‘the generic form’. This settles many a score at once. Once we conclude that there is an overt linguistic form that triggers genericity, the abstract Gen must give way to a generic construction and it must also block type-shifting simply because it would open up the possibility of not only there being nouns and verbs that are generic but also constructions that submit to genericity. Instead, along with bare plurals, one should try to find out other unmarked forms in natural languages and thus the entire linguistic discourse on generics must change its course. And if Leslie’s proposal holds true, beyond doubt, defeasible reasoning has better claim over generics than ever before.

3. Conclusion

In the end we must make it clear that our quest for GEN is far from over. If generics are defaults, so be they. But how do we recognize the generic sentence? The defeasible reasoning is an implicit psychological operation, not an explicit computation. In language do we have any clue that guides us? If not, then it would be a little difficult to buy the theory of defaults. We have episodic expressions for episodic thoughts and it is hard to believe that the most fundamental, default reasoning does not have a linguistic expression of its own and is bound to be expressed through cracks of episodes. Even technically, there are certain questions that the theory of defeasible reasoning leaves unresolved and can be addressed if we find linguistic clues that make us recognize genericity.

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NA

BACKGROUND

School of Languages and Linguistics in collaboration with International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Dravidian Linguistics Association has organized 46th AICDL and ISLELT in Jadavpur University from 21st June 2018 to 23rd June 2018. Central Institute of Indian Languages, The Asiatic Society of Kolkata, Anthropological Survey of India, and Indian Council of Social Science Research have extended their academic as well as financial support in organizing this mega event in a short period of time. 113 papers were presented in this three days long program.

Here is the Welcome Note prepared and delivered by Dr. Atanu Saha on behalf of the local organizers.

Svagatham, Namaskar, Namoskar

Dear President of the Dravidian Linguistics Association Prof G.K Panikkar. Prof. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan. Director. ISDL. Thiruvananthapuram. Prof Probal Dasgupta . Prof. K Viswanatham. respected dignitaries on and off the dais, distinguished faculty members, paper presenters, research scholars, students, ladies and gentlemen –

I am very pleased to be here today for the opening of this Conference on 46th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists & International Symposium on Linguistic Ecology and Language Technology.

The 46 version of this conference was planned jointly to be organized by school of languages and linguistics. JU by the then director of ISDL prof Panikkar and Prof Mahidas Bhattacharva our former director of school of languages and linguistics and the first meeting happened on Dec 20th. 2017 to decide the responsibilities and select the members of the organizing committee and the advisory committee for the conference. Although it was difficult to manage a conference of such volume without an easy chair or a google doc but then we have worked together with the Association and our other collaborators and today the day has come when we have gathered here to talk, discuss and interact original and unpublished research pertaining to various aspects of theoretical and applied linguistics and other linguistics-related topics.

It is a well-known fact that Dravidian and Indo Aryan languages share a lot of similar linguistic properties given the broader spectrum of South Asia as a Linguistic Area. If we look at a micro linguistic level and linguists who have been closely working in the areas of language contact and convergence have discussed the close associations between Bangla and languages of the Dravidian family. For example, in a recent Undergraduate Thesis by Daven Hobbs of the Ohio State University in 2016 on the Dravidian Influence on Indo-Aryan: The Case of the Dative-Subject Construction notes

some crucial points

The discovery of seemingly non-Indo-European elements in Rigvedic Sanskrit that incidentally closely resembled elements found within the Dravidian languages led some scholars (Emeneau 1954, Kuiper 1967, among others) to posit a contact scenario in which Dravidian languages were the source of these convergent features. Frequently cited examples of such features include the presence of a phonemic contrast between dental and retroflex stops and nasals, similarities in the usage of certain syntactic structures like quotatives and enclitic particles, the presence of “conjunctive” gerunds, etc.

The substratum theory accorded with what scholars thought they knew about the social dynamic that existed between the Aryans and South Asia’s indigenous populations from analyses of the Vedas, namely that the Aryans were the more prestigious, powerful, and dominant social group, and that they subjugated indigenous populations like the Dravidians. Backed by extra-linguistic textual evidence of this social dynamic, the substratum theory has gained considerable support, though it is not universally accepted and require serious research.

The influence of Dravidian on the modern (or new) Indo-Aryan languages (NIA; ~1100 CE to present) has also been noted by some but has not yet been the subject of any detailed study. Most notably, Southworth (1971, 2005) and Klaiman (1997) have proposed several features within NIA languages that are of a probable Dravidian origin. The features they cite include postpositions derived from verbs meaning ‘leave,’ and ‘stay/be,’ complementizers derived from a form of the verb ‘say,’ and certain kinds of serial verb constructions, among others.

The particular construction under investigation in this thesis is characterized by expressions involving a dative-marked verbal argument which exhibits at least some of the semantic properties and syntactic behaviors typically ascribed to the grammatical relation of ‘subject.’ At its highest level of schematicity (in the terminology of Croft 2003, Barðdal, Kristoffersen, & Sveen 2011, Barðdal & Gildea 2015), there are two basic forms that this construction can take within the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. These two possibilities are given below in (1a-b).

- (1) a. [NP-DAT ... VFULL(+AUX)]
 b. [NP-DAT ... NP-NOM VLIGHT(+AUX)]
 1. unakku (avane) teriyumā [Tamil]
 you.DAT he.ACC know.3SG.Q
 ‘Do you know (him)?’
 2. mujhe (sāmpom se) dar hai [Hindi-Urdu]
 I.DAT snake.PL.INS fear.SG.NOM be.3SG
 ‘I am afraid (of snakes).’

It is important to note that dative-subject constructions in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian occur in both of these schematic forms. The Indo-Aryan languages contain dative-subject constructions with simple and complex predicates, as do the Dravidian languages.

Masica (1976: 160) writes that this construction is most often used within Indo-Aryan and Dravidian to express “liking and disliking, states of health or sickness, happiness and unhappiness, dreaming, feeling, remembering, thinking, embarrassment, pity, doubt, pain, thirst, hunger, sleepiness, anger, urgency, and ‘knowing’ itself.” Though not exhaustive, this list serves to highlight some of the common predicate types found in the languages of these two families.

So what we see that this is still a vibrant area of research and I am sure in this three-day conference you will explore more of such features and carry forward the take away for further research. We are also organizing an International Symposium on Linguistic Ecology and Language Technology apart from the academic sessions along with several endowment lectures and special lectures. We have received 71 abstracts on various aspects of Linguistics which will be delivered in the

coming two days in three parallel sessions.

We would like to thank Prof. Arun Ghosh who would of delivering the Prof. V. I. Subhramoniam Memoriam Lecture and ISLELT Keynote Speech: Prof. George van Driem by Prof. George Van driem from the University of Bern.

We would like to extend our thanks to Daniel J. Kader, Niladri Sekhar Dash, Ritesh Kumar, Amit Chowdhury and Prof Zafar Iqbal.

We welcome all the participants from all over the country and abroad.

I would like to thank again all the delegates, dignitaries and our collaborators for all their efforts, which have made this meeting possible.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am confident that you will make a crucial contribution to the the process of uniting the bond we share across the culture and linguistic space.

You can rely on our full commitment in this process.

I wish you a very successful Conference.